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## How Gay Is Gay?

### Homosexuality in America



A. MAGEE

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## A Letter from the Publisher

Senior Correspondent Ruth Mehrtens Galvin first interviewed Dr. William Howell Masters and Virginia Johnson for a 1970 TIME cover story marking the publication of their landmark study, *Human Sexual Inadequacy*. So when Galvin, who has specialized in reporting on the behavioral sciences for ten years, learned earlier this year that the researchers were about to publish a major study of homosexuality, she read the book in manuscript. Her report led TIME's editors to the conclusion that here was an excellent opportunity not only for an exclusive preview of the new research but also for a more general look at homosexuality in America. Galvin then spent a few days as the guest of Masters and Johnson (who married in 1971) at their six-acre estate in St. Louis. There she interviewed the couple at length, and Dr. Masters showed her two buildings on the property that in the past have usually been off-limits to journalists: the handsome hilltop house where the homosexuals of their study stayed during the research, and a small cottage where the interviews were conducted and records kept.

This week's cover story, the third in the past decade to feature the subject of homosexuality, is something of a first for Senior Writer George Church. In the decade since he joined TIME,

after a distinguished career at the *Wall Street Journal*, Church has written and edited primarily in the magazine's Economy & Business and Energy sections. "Homosexuality is about as far removed from business as you can get," says Church. "In economics writing, you can always fall back on statistics. But there is no census of homosexuals, and with so many in the closet or only half emerged, we may never know their actual number."

Church's overview of the continuing frustrations and the emerging self-confidence of homosexuals today is based on dozens of interviews by TIME correspondents with legislators, educators, executives, clergy and other articulate members of the growing "gay" minority, and on the correspondents' firsthand observation of their life-style, from San Francisco's Castro Street to New York City's Christopher Street, from Macon, Ga., to Mankato, Minn. In exploring the new book's findings, Ruth Galvin learned from Masters and Johnson that gays and straights have more in common than perhaps most people thought. Says she: "My biggest surprise was to discover how much heterosexuals could learn from homosexuals about closeness, warmth and communication. I had always assumed that it was the other way around."



Ruth Galvin

John A. Meyers

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# Windfall profits or windfall tax?

President Carter has unveiled his latest energy program. It included a decision to gradually decontrol crude oil prices, a step we have urged for several years. The program also included proposals for several new taxes.

In urging these new taxes, the President made several observations about present and future oil company profits. He said, for example, that "unless we tax the oil companies, they will reap huge and undeserved windfall profits." He characterized current oil industry earnings as "already enormous," and proposed a tax to curb those who would "cheat the public and... damage our country."

Let's examine the facts, and see if these observations are justified.

1. Who gets what from higher prices? Here's what happens to a dollar of increased prices under the President's program:

- 50 cents to the Treasury as a new tax.
- Approximately 30 cents to federal and state governments in the form of increased income taxes, state severance taxes, and royalty payments.

This would leave oil companies with approximately 20 cents on the dollar, with the balance going to government.

2. By any fair test, oil company profitability is below average. As *Time* magazine said on April 16, 1979: "...by any yardstick, oil company profits are not out of line with those in other U.S. industries..." None of our critics mentions profitability, which is the basis for investment decisions and for attracting adequate supplies of capital.

Mobil's rate of return on equity in 1978 was 13.1 percent, while the oil industry averaged 14.3 percent. The average for all manufacturing industries was 15.9 percent. We earned 2.1 cents per gallon of petroleum sold.

3. What will it take to stimulate significant new production of oil and gas? President

Carter himself set the standard when he said government must stop "holding the price of American oil down far below its replacement [cost] or its true value." But will his program meet this test? Oil companies certainly aren't getting replacement cost today, and the proposed new taxes would make it difficult to get replacement cost for costlier oil tomorrow.

The President has said that even with his proposed taxes, oil companies would increase their income by \$6 billion over the next three years. That sounds like a lot. But it isn't, considering the job that has to be done. Mobil alone (with only about 5.5 percent of the U.S. gasoline market) expects to spend over a third of that amount over the next three years for increasing domestic energy supplies. A Bankers Trust Company study put the issue into perspective: the oil industry will need at least \$25 billion annually just to meet projected drilling requirements through 1982.

Oil companies will have to drill in deeper water, in harsher environments, where costs are huge. And even the enhanced recovery of already discovered reserves through advanced technology will be an expensive task. The President's tax plan would impose on the American consumer the burden of higher prices without the prospect of increased supply by taxing away money needed for exploration and production.

4. Can the oil companies be trusted to put additional revenues into the search for new energy supplies? History says yes. For the latest five available years, the Chase Manhattan Bank study shows that for some 30 leading oil companies, capital and exploration outlays of \$126 billion exceeded net income by \$59 billion, or 88 percent.

It's clear that the President's tax program would indeed create a windfall—a windfall for big government getting even bigger on money that should go into the search for petroleum.

## Mobil

## Letters

### On the Couch

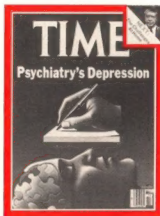
To the Editors:

You made a wrong diagnosis in "Psychiatry's Depression" [April 2]. After a prolonged high, or hypomania, psychiatry's descent to a healthy normal only seems like a depression. Most of us who practice this medical specialty are pleased with its present position.

Raymond B. Reinhart Jr., M.D.  
New Hope, Pa.

Psychiatry is not in a "depression," as you so charitably put it. Psychiatry, like the behavioral sciences it spawned, is bankrupt and should be put to rest. The theories of Freud and his disciples have produced illiterates in our schools, turned prisons into training grounds for criminals, perverted our judicial system, created the Me-First society and expounded economic policies that have virtually ruined us financially.

Alfred Humbert Jr.  
Chicago



It comes as no surprise that the Me generation is committing psychoanalysis to the grave. Would Narcissus have liked an analyst who threw stones in his pool?

Jeb Burrows  
Cliffside Park, N.J.

Most people do not have psychological problems; they have spiritual problems. Psychiatry seems to run in horror from this essential dimension of the human being.

Joan Williams Ward  
Philadelphia

The quote attributed to me, "A Cadillac may be a very fine car to drive, but it would be uneconomical to say we're dedicated to buying Cadillacs for every person in our society," lends itself to the cynical misinterpretation that good psychotherapy is too expensive for the average person. On the contrary, it is too expensive for society *not* to provide good

psychiatric care for all who need it. Failure to do so results in far greater indirect costs to society in terms of increased medical expenses, absenteeism, child abuse, delinquency, crime and alcoholism, among other problems. The shorter-term treatments that I and others have been advocating for some (not all) conditions are not inferior substitutes, but actually more effective ways of achieving desired therapeutic objectives.

Judd Marmor, M.D.  
Los Angeles

Anyone going to a psychiatrist ought to have his head examined.

Albert J. Silverstein  
New Rochelle, N.Y.

I can testify, from personal experience, that psychotherapy can be an extremely successful form of treatment for personality disorders. It has enriched my life immensely.

(Mrs.) Thelma E. Bradi  
Fairfax, Va.

Not only medical degrees are "hard won." A Ph.D. in clinical psychology requires four years of graduate training and a year of internship. I doubt that many of us clinical psychologists simply "chat sympathetically and tell a patient 'You're much too hard on yourself.'"

Richard Spring  
Paris, Tenn.

### Debate on the Draft

Re "Uncle Sam Wants Who?" [April 2]: the Declaration of Independence states that an inalienable right is that of the "pursuit of happiness." There are many of us who do not consider being forced to kill others pursuing happiness. The draft is inherently immoral, and any attempts to reinstate it should be resisted.

Kathleen Scott  
West Chester, Pa.

Individual freedom is one of this country's greatest assets, but freedom without an accompanying sense of responsibility by all of us is a sham, especially when our national security is at stake—and it is.

Frank Davis  
Redondo Beach, Calif.

Congress should have thought more carefully about the all-volunteer force before it decided to eliminate so many benefits to cut the budget. The all-volunteer force has only started to fail since the benefits have been "dropping like flies." There is not much left to entice young people to enlist.

(Sgt.) Paul A. Thornton, U.S.A.F.  
Omaha

If the Joint Chiefs of Staff went fishing in the ocean and returned empty-handed, they'd probably blame it on a lack of available fish. In truth, there is no

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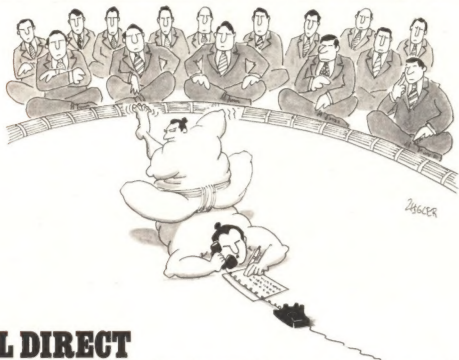
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Kawasaki	44	Osaka	862	Tokyo	3
Kirakiryushu	93	Osaka	6	Yokohama	45



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## Letters

shortage of young men; it's just that with its reluctance to change with the times, the military is able to attract only 13% of the country's youth. Changing of the hair regulations alone would probably attract millions more into the armed forces.

Joe Astuto  
Carlsbad, Calif.

### Humiliation of Rape

As a rape victim, I am encouraged to see that someone is actually making progress in seeing that sex offenders won't continue to walk out of courtrooms with smug grins on their faces [April 2]. It's bad enough to suffer the humiliation of rape, but twice as bad to suffer the degradation of a court system and lawyers who regard the offender as the injured party.

Donna Owen  
Tulsa

It has been said that women invite attack by the way they dress, or by leading men on and then withholding their favors. This may be true. But did you ever get an invitation that you couldn't turn down? Whatever the girl did, the man's crime is no less horrendous than if she were the epitome of virtue.

Carl E. Stringfield  
Bloomington, Ill.

In most rape cases, I believe that the charge of kidnapping also ought to apply. No matter how temporarily, rape involves unlawful detention of the victim, even if the crime occurs in the victim's home.

Warren H. MacDonald  
Rehoboth Beach, Del.

### Islam's Sexism

Jane O'Reilly's report on the "Iranian Women's Revolution" [April 2] lucidly and sensitively covered an often misunderstood issue. Rather than take the easy way out and slur Islamic principles as the root of Middle Eastern sexism, she has demonstrated that it is the patriarchal interpreters of Islam who have perpetrated women's oppression. That practice, I might add, is surely not unknown in many Christian sects as well.

Susan T. Rivers  
Dublin

### Goldmann and Arafat

Re the information given in TIME: I inform you that there are at this stage no negotiations under way concerning a meeting between myself and P.L.O. Leader Yasser Arafat [April 9].

Nahum Goldmann  
Paris

### No Middle East Payoff

Your story "Peace: Risks and Rewards" [March 26] was notable for its failure to mention any rewards for Amer-

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## Letters

icans. Will this peace between Israel and Egypt better our relations with the U.S.S.R. or decelerate Moscow's growing influence over its neighbors, increase our access to energy sources, reduce our rate of inflation, improve our balance of payments, help balance our budget or increase our national security?

Kenneth B. Demaree  
Southbury, Conn.

### Uncomfortable Bed

We Americans like to rail against OPEC and its supposedly sinister oil-pricing policies (April 2), but isn't it just practicing orthodox capitalism as taught in every American business school and as honed to perfection by American businessmen? We have made our own uncomfortable bed, and now we must lie on it.

D.F. Downing  
Santa Barbara, Calif.

### Where the Rich Invest

The article on the investments of those moneybags (April 2) may interest some, but unfortunately has little relevance to most of us. Those affluent few who can afford to invest in vineyards, professional football teams or Reno condominium developments can also afford to lose tens of thousands of dollars, while the small investor can be wiped out by the merest fluctuation of the market.

Charles Kochlacs  
Pacific Palisades, Calif.

### Pinyin Chinese

Congratulations on adopting the Pinyin spelling of Chinese words (March 26). I never did know how to pronounce an apostrophe.

Ann Williams  
Chicago

The English-speaking world is groaning about the adoption of Pinyin. Having been raised with a language that contains such combinations as "rhythm," "syzygy" and "gnathic," and in which *gh*, *ph* and *ff* can all sound alike, I don't see what the fuss is about. But then, conversion to the metric system hasn't progressed well, even though it too is easier to use.

Mary F. Schmidt  
Boston

There is no reason to gripe about changing the spelling of Peking to Beijing. Beijing is much closer to the Chinese pronunciation. One thing we can do to get even is to ask the Chinese to quit calling the U.S. capital "Huashendun" and the current President "Kate."

L.S. Chen  
Abernathy, Texas

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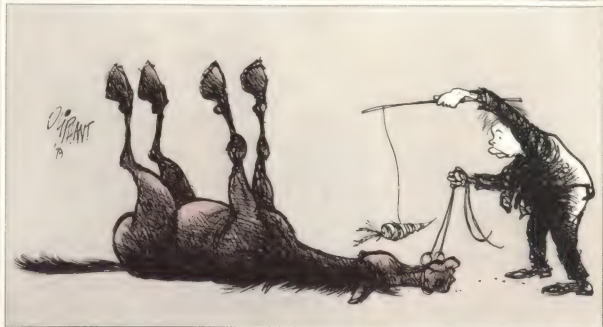


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TIME/APR. 23, 1979

## No Get Up and Go

*Carter will need more than a carrot to rouse Congress to action*

**T**he U.S. Air Force can barely find enough planes to accommodate all the members of Congress heading for distant parts of the world during the Easter recess. House Speaker Tip O'Neill is leading one group to Ireland; House Whip John Brademas is taking another to the Soviet Union. Members of the House Narcotics Committee are on their way to sunny Colombia. So many Congressmen are traveling to China that a quorum call might just succeed in Peking. The Easter recess, in fact, is turning out to be considerably more lively than the session, which so far has set a record unmatched in two decades for legislative inactivity. Critics have already dubbed the 96th the "do nothing" Congress, the same fighting words used by President Harry Truman in his famous "Give 'em hell" assault on the 80th Congress when he was running for election in 1948.

Since the session started on Jan. 15, a grand total of nine bills has passed. Only two were of any consequence, and circumstances forced both of them on Congress: one readjusted U.S. relations with Taiwan, the other raised the ceiling on the national debt at the eleventh hour, allowing the Treasury to pay its bills. "This is the

slowest Congress I can remember," says Illinois Congressman John Anderson, an 18-year Republican veteran. "The activity on the floor has been almost nil." Says Nevada's G.O.P. Senator Paul Laxalt: "It's just been eerie around here."

Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd has kept things quiet by refusing to schedule votes on Fridays, thus inviting Senators to leave town Thursday night for weekend politicking back home. While floor action often runs beyond dinnertime in busier periods, the Senate has been adjourning around 5:30 p.m. Minority Leader Howard Baker jokes wryly that new members may get the wrong idea and think these hours are normal. Says he: "I have to remind them not to get used to it."

Capitol Hill has not been suddenly afflicted with laziness; the slow pace is calculated. Congress has received the message from the voters back home that they have had a surfeit of experiment and spending. They need a breather. Explains Byrd: "Congress this year is reflecting a general feeling on the part of the American people that there have been enough new programs." Echoes O'Neill, among the stoutest of liberals: "The public wants to cut the bloat out of Government." Montana's newly elected Democratic Senator

Max Baucus sums up: "The country is tired of rules, regulations, statutes and everything else that has to do with Government. None of it seems to be able to solve today's problems."

The White House is not complaining very much about the somnolent drift in Congress. It, too, is playing something of a waiting game. For the time being, the President is willing to take it easy on Congress, since he needs support for urgent legislation later in the session. Beyond that, Carter has been preoccupied with foreign affairs. The White House has submitted only one major spending bill, real wage insurance, which was rejected by Congress because it was too inflationary. There is even less hope for other money bills. The funding of congressional elections, says a Democratic leader, is "an idea whose time has come and gone." The time also does not seem to be right for national health insurance. Says an aide to House Whip Brademas: "Nobody wants a program of medical insurance that will run into the same cost problem as Medicare and Medicaid." The one spending bill that has a good chance is the aid package to Israel and Egypt, an indication that no price is too high for peace.

From the time that Congress returns

from its 13-day recess until it adjourns in the fall, excitement may build over measures that do not involve spending money. A hot debate is sure to greet the President's plan to decontrol the price of oil and to impose a windfall profits tax on the petroleum companies. Last week an angry Senator Henry Jackson introduced a bill to postpone the lifting of controls (see BUSINESS). The multilateral trade bill that has been negotiated over the past 5½ years will come up for a vote this session. Controversial legislation is also expected to be introduced to deregulate the railroads, and possibly trucking and busing as well; to set aside wilderness areas in Alaska; to guarantee support prices for sugarcroppers; and to speed up the licensing of nuclear plants. SALT II will dominate the session if the treaty is signed in time for consideration. Since opposition is steadily building, Byrd, who controls the flow of legislation, may put off debate if it would tie up the Senate long past October, when he hopes to adjourn.

While shunning new expenditures, members of Congress are scrutinizing old commitments. Never before have they examined the federal budget in such exhaustive detail. The coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that dominated Congress in the pre-Great Society days seems to have been re-established. But liberals, too, are displaying a new-found fragility. When the Senate Budget Committee voted to slash veterans' benefits, Colorado Democrat Gary Hart made an impassioned plea to restore the money. The committee went along and added \$600 million to the budget. Then Hart, a liberal who faces re-election next year, had second thoughts. He went back to the committee and agreed that the \$600 million should be cut to \$400 million. It was.

Hart is not the only Democratic Senator looking ahead nervously to 1980. Of the 34 Senate seats in contention in 1980, Democrats hold 24, many of them liberals running in areas that normally vote conservative. Among the vulnerable are Idaho's Frank Church, Iowa's John Culver and South Dakota's George McGovern. They feel their best strategy is to lie low. "The Democratic leadership is scared of the elections," says Senator Henry Bellmon, an Oklahoma Republican. "They don't want their 24 incumbents to make more decisions than is absolutely necessary." Byrd has acknowledged he wants to adjourn the Senate in October to give his troops plenty of campaign time.

Congress has also been paying attention to one of its other obligations that it has long neglected:



**Laxalt perusing legislation**

overseeing the work of the bureaucracies it has created. Many members have been digging into the various agencies and departments, trying to see if they are performing as expected or even coming close to it. "I have a much better handle on the activities of the Justice Department than I ever had before," admits Republican Representative Tom Railsback of Illinois, a member of the Judiciary Committee. "There is a much greater focus now on how programs work," says Ohio's G.O.P. Representative Willis Gradison, a member of the Ways and

Means Committee who is looking into the rising cost of disability insurance in the Social Security program.

In purely political terms, however, exercising oversight is turning out to be one of the most demanding and least rewarding of all congressional activities. It seldom offers a dramatic issue to propel a member into the headlines. When new programs are being considered, people and reporters flock to committee hearings for a piece of the action. But a sober assessment of programs after they are in operation holds little allure for the publicity-minded. "How do you attract people to these hearings?" muses a key staffer on the House Rules Committee. "They are so boring." They also demand a mastery of detail by any Congressman who wants to come to grips with the bureaucracy. Otherwise, he is punching a pillow.

Senator Max Baucus wonders if Congress has the "persistence to conduct meaningful oversight." In the course of extended hearings, he discovered that antipollution laws were not being enforced because the Justice Department lacked the funds. "It is frustrating because I feel I've only touched the surface, and I don't have the resources really to search out the nooks and crannies on this issue and follow it up," says Representative James Cleveland, a New Hampshire Republican. "If Congress is going to take its oversight responsibilities seriously, this is

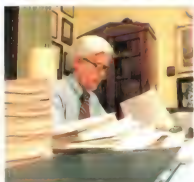


**Robert Byrd discussing session plans with Howard Baker**  
*A calculated pace for a country weary of new programs.*

not a do-nothing Congress at all. It's a Congress that has changed direction and is doing something very significant and important."

As they returned to their districts last week, members of Congress found their constituents not only not wanting anything new, but very worried about keeping what they already have. Inflation was on everybody's mind. "Food prices are driving people crazy," says Congressman Frederick Richmond, a Democrat who represents a low-income district in Brooklyn. While the average American spends 18% of his budget on food, Richmond's constituents shell out a whopping 44%. Up in Maine, Congresswoman Olympia Snowe found the same reaction, with a regional difference. She has received hundreds of letters urging the Government to establish a tax credit for wood-burning stoves, which cut heating costs and save oil at the same time.

Occasionally, members of Congress found that they were considered part of the problem. Some observers feel that



**Anderson at work in Capitol Hill office**

Congress has become too fractious to do its job properly. The decline of the parties has liberated members to do whatever they and their constituents please. "Everyone is elected on an individual basis," complains Tim Hagan, Democratic chairman of Cuyahoga County in Ohio. "They don't understand the need for a consensus or an agenda. Without one, there can be no attempt on the part of a Government to fashion the legislation needed to deal with the problems of this country." Frosty Troy, editor of the crustily independent *Oklahoma Observer*, agrees. "Everybody's a chief in Congress and nobody's an Indian," he says. "But it takes Indians to run a country. You have to have some way of maintaining discipline."

Still, the voters seem to be in an ornery, individualistic temper themselves, and this is reflected by their representatives. The Easter 1979 message is clear enough to members of Congress who want to get re-elected: Do not do anything unless you are sure it will do some good. And even then, do not spend much money.





Roaring through the Red River Valley at about 70 m.p.h., the huge funnel heads toward Wichita Falls, Texas

## Carnage in "Tornado Alley"

*Deadly twisters rip along the Texas-Oklahoma border, killing at least 59*

Hilde Graf was watching TV last week in her Wichita Falls, Texas, home when a tornado warning flashed on the screen. She rushed to a window and spotted a huge cloud darkening the horizon. With the twister bearing down at about 70 m.p.h., she jumped into her car and raced to the Sikes shopping mall, which she thought had a basement storm shelter. But there was no shelter at the mall, and Graf, along with hundreds of shoppers, covered on the concrete floors of the mall's stores as the storm struck and merchandise and broken glass hurtled like cannon shot through the air. Outside, the death-dealing funnel tossed cars hundreds of yards in the air, flattening some and buckling others. Inside the mall, there was carnage. "People were screaming, and there was blood all over the place," said Graf. "A man lay on top of me. His clothes were ripped to shreds, and he was covered with blood."

The twister was part of the worst tornado system to hit Texas since 1953, when 114 people were killed in Waco. One evening last week, perhaps as many as ten funnels roared down the Red River Valley, along the border of Texas and Oklahoma. The corridor is known as Tornado Alley because its springtime atmospheric conditions—warm air from the Gulf collides with cold fronts from the north—make it ripe for spawning twisters.

The first of last week's terrifying funnels hit Vernon, Texas, killing eleven and injuring 60. Others touched ground at Lawton, Okla., and Harrold, Texas, while a flurry of follow-up storms struck several

Arkansas communities. By the time the skies cleared, at least 59 people had been killed and nearly a thousand injured, 200 of them critically. About 8,000 were homeless. With property damage estimated at close to \$400 million, President Carter declared the stricken valley a major disaster area, making the survivors eligible for low-interest federal loans.

Wichita Falls (pop. 100,000) was hardest hit by far. There three tornadoes joined together, creating a huge funnel with winds estimated at 225 m.p.h. It sucked up roofs, tore huge limbs from trees, and lifted the debris as high as half a mile into the sky. Said Roy Styles, "I crawled under a mattress, and that's all that saved me because the walls fell in."

Cindy Trott, 22, fled to a science building at Midwestern State University for safety. Said she: "It didn't look like a tornado until it got up close to you. Then you could see all the lumber and junk swirling around, and we were panicked." When the storm passed, she hurried to her family's home on the city's densely populated southwest side. It was leveled, along with some 2,000 other houses in the city.

Ida Martinez and her daughter Chastity Dawn, 4, sat out the storm in the bathroom of her apartment in the Sun Valley development, where the clocks stopped at 6:15 p.m. sharp. "I leaned my back against the door and listened to the building tearing apart," said Martinez. "I thought that I was going to die. Things started flying, mud and water started coming under the bathroom door, and I could hear people screaming for help." Although Sun Valley was almost completely destroyed, she and Chastity Dawn escaped unscathed. Just a few hundred yards away, however, several people dining at two restaurants were killed.

Reported TIME Correspondent Robert C. Wurmstedt from the devastated city: "Close to the center of the storm's path, which was eight miles long and up to two miles wide,



A survivor in front of what was once her house  
Debris flew half a mile into the sky.



All that is left of an apartment complex in the city's Quail Creek section



A flag marks a pile of debris

the damage was staggering. Block after block of houses were flattened. Wrecked cars and small pleasure boats lay upside down in front yards and what had been living rooms and bedrooms. All 90 trailers at the Candlewood mobile home park were destroyed, their remains scattered for acres. Scrub trees were festooned with torn clothing, strips of insulation and scraps of metal. Huge 16-wheel trailer trucks were casually tossed into the middle of fields. Texas Governor William Clements, on a helicopter tour of the area, could barely comprehend the sight. "These homes are not damaged," he said. "They are demolished, gone."

In the wake of the storm, volunteers pulled bodies from collapsed buildings and mangled autos. "The vacuum was so great that some people were sucked right out of their cars," said Police Sergeant Mike Hickman. The emergency rooms of

local hospitals were jammed with bloodied victims. There was no electricity and no water; 400 National Guardsmen patrolled the city to prevent looting. The next morning, the survivors began to make neat piles of salvaged belongings in front of their wrecked houses: a few plates, a sewing machine, a bureau. "We can't find our pool table and our living room furniture," said Mark Harlass, 17. "They just blew away. And our freezer is in our next-door neighbor's house."

A few tried at first to profit from other people's plight, selling water at \$1 a gal. and gasoline at \$1.50 a gal., until city authorities imposed a 15-day price freeze. But most residents gamely pitched in to bring Wichita Falls back to life. Volunteers operating hundreds of bulldozers and trucks began to haul away the debris. The Red Cross set up six shelters to provide food and medicine. Free storage space and lodging were offered; so were

pickup trucks to help with the moving. A local locksmith advertised his services for free, and a motel offered water from its swimming pool. Sanitation crews were out inspecting canned and bottled food at more than 100 damaged grocery stores. There was even a shelter for dazed and injured pets, which included over 200 dogs and cats. "One lady called and asked if we had her parrot, but we haven't seen it," said one of the aides at the center.

**W**hen electricity was restored to some of the city after 24 hours, restaurants and shops began reopening. But for most of the victims, it would be a long time before life returned to normal. Cindy Trott's family, for one, had only a few possessions left: among them a cabinet of crystal glasses that the twister perversely left untouched while pulling down the house around it. ■



Cars tossed by the wind; their occupants were sometimes sucked out by the tornado's vacuum

## Nation

### Advice and Dissent

*Carter wants a tighter ship*

**F**or more than two years, Jimmy Carter has tolerated his Cabinet members' shortcomings, forgiven their mistakes and ignored the advice of outsiders that he shake up the top level of his Administration or even fire some people. But now Carter is beginning to have second thoughts. Reports from Washington Bureau Chief Robert Ajemian: "According to close aides, Carter is dissatisfied with the quality of certain advice and with some of the decision making beneath him. Mindful of his wobbly standing in the polls, he is determined to improve the Cabinet's performance."

One result is that, to assure loyalty, the President has taken more control over agency appointments. For example, Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps wanted to promote Frank Weil to be her under secretary, but was told to find someone who was a stronger supporter of Carter. Weil lined up endorsements from several Senators and Cabinet members, but the President held firm.

In addition, Carter is showing increasing irritation with aides who seem unpre-



The Carters leaving for Easter vacation  
"Talk and talk, and nothing happens."

pared or uncertain. After hearing several high-level staffers in the Oval Office debate how he should announce his energy policy, Carter angrily shut off the discussion and bluntly ordered, "Get your act together." Now, say aides, he intends to put similar pressure on top-level officials outside the White House. Among them

► James Schlesinger: "He feels shafted by Schlesinger," says a top presidential aide. The President believes that the Energy Secretary has shown insensitivity toward Iran and belittled negotiations for Mexican gas by insulting Mexico's envoys. Carter no longer relies on Schlesinger alone for advice on energy policy. In preparing for his energy speech earlier this month, the President reached around the Energy Secretary and invited all Cabinet members to chip in with ideas. Last week, Carter named Domestic Adviser Stuart Eizenstat to head the Administration team that will lobby for the windfall profits tax in Congress, and deliberately left out Schlesinger.

► Ray Marshall: Administration officials complain that the Labor Secretary has been a dead loss at negotiating with the Teamsters Union. As a result, Carter has had to deal directly with Union President Frank Fitzsimmons. Carter made some headway with Fitzsimmons but was unable to head off the Teamsters strike.

► Stansfield Turner: The CIA director looked better to Carter in Navy whites than he does in charge of U.S. intelligence. Carter is now said to agree with critics that his Annapolis classmate is too much of a lightweight and military bureaucrat for the job. Carter gives higher marks to Turner's deputy, Frank Carlucci. But because of the frequent turnover of CIA di-



### Making the African Scene

**W**as he just another American innocent abroad? It certainly seemed so. "They live in that?" he questioned incredulously, as he squatted in front of a hut built from cow dung in northern Kenya. "Are they happy?" he asked, studying a group of Rendille tribesmen resting under a tree. He then wanted to know, "What do they do all day long?" Told that they tended cattle, he persisted: "Yes. But what do they do while they're tending cattle?" And later he wondered whether "these local people have a pagan religion." To such ques-

Brown discussing irrigation and Ronsstadt taking photos in Kenya



rectors—five in six years—the President is reluctant to make a change

► Alfred Kahn. The loose tongue of the chairman of the Council on Wage and Price Stability is increasingly bothersome to the White House. Within two working days, Press Secretary Jody Powell twice had to "clarify" Kahn's statements. First the inflation czar told a congressional committee that he did not favor Carter's plan to decontrol oil prices. Soon afterward presidential aides apparently changed Kahn's mind. Said Kahn: "I am now 100% behind the decision to decontrol. I always have been 49½% behind it." Then he told an AFL-CIO rally that failure of voluntary wage-price guidelines to round inflation would lead to either mandatory controls or a recession. Powell had to make clear to reporters that the President disagreed and that Kahn was not signaling an imminent change in policy. Said a White House aide: "Kahn does a wonderful job, but he's too damn flip."

Carter, in fact, is dissatisfied with his economic policymaking in general. One problem is that he refuses to rely on only a single adviser. As a result, his views have often shifted from one position to another as he listens first to Charles Schultze,



Stansfield Turner

chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, then to Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal and finally to several other aides. Moreover, the economic advisers are unable to work well together. Kahn does not get along with his council's director, Barry Bosworth, and has set up his own little bureaucracy separate from the wage and price guidelines program a block away. Blumenthal has been squabbling with Trade Negotiator Robert Strauss. At a Cabinet meeting last month, the Treasury Secretary accused Strauss of having worked out a sweetheart deal with the textile industry that limits imports, in exchange for its support of the Tokyo Round of tariff reductions. Strauss claims his actions were politically necessary.

The President's top economic advisers are also distressed at the situation. They engaged in some soul searching at a Danish-and-coffee breakfast two weeks ago in Blumenthal's Treasury Department dining room. For instance, they criticized themselves for failing to fol-

low through on policy decisions and for having talked for three months about ways to slow down the economy without agreeing on a set of recommendations for the President. Complained one adviser at the table: "We talk and talk and nothing happens."

On the other hand, the Administration's foreign policymaking seems to be functioning better than ever. Carter seems more comfortable with National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. On a picture of the two of them jogging in Jerusalem last month, Carter jokingly wrote: "At least once we're in step." The President is still high on Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, but some aides believe that because of Carter's personal involvement in the Middle East negotiations, Vance alone will not have the clout to keep future talks on track.

Despite Carter's unhappiness with some of the people around him, there is no sign of any imminent major personnel changes. Instead, the President is considering ways to bear down harder on his team and improve performance. Says an aide who has the President's confidence: "If he wants to get re-elected, he's got to have the stomach for being tougher on his people. They've got to do better, and he knows it."



James Schlesinger

tions posed by California Governor Jerry Brown, his African hosts could only smile.

What fascinated reporters in Africa more than Brown's remarks, however, was his traveling companion: Rock Star Linda Ronstadt. For some time, the bachelor politician, 41, and the singer, nine years his junior, have been linked in gossip columns, and it was even rumored that they were going to the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro to get married. The singer's arrival in Africa guaranteed enormous press coverage for Brown—but perhaps not entirely the kind he wanted. Reporters and photographers camped outside hotel rooms and mobbed the couple whenever they appeared. (Their hotel cottage in Kenya had two bedrooms, each with twin beds.) The situation became so unruly that the two celebrities took refuge in the home of U.S. Ambassador Wilbert John Le Melle.

When the press stalked the visitors to Nairobi's airport, Linda hid in the ladies' room. Cajoled Jerry from outside: "C'mon, Linda, just one picture of us, and they'll have what they want." She finally bolted for the plane and tumbled in with her head hidden in her arms. Said one of the singer's friends: "The press really freaks her out, and she feels terrible that she's ruining Jerry's trip."

What Brown hoped to accomplish with his safari remained unclear. As an open but undeclared candidate for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, he may have wanted to acquire some credentials on international matters. He did meet with the leaders of Kenya and Liberia and was planning to go to Tanzania. The trip also gave Brown a chance to

inspect environmental protection programs, something he passionately supports. At one visit to a United Nations project, he saw a map showing that the danger of arable land turning into desert is greater in California than in Kenya. He stuffed the map into his pocket and later remarked: "I had to come all the way to Africa in order to make the point that we can't go on living like this, using up our resources."

A further reason for the journey was given by Jacques Barzagli, a Brown aide: "Jerry has some friends. Jesse Jackson and people like that, who urged him to come to Africa to see for himself and get a little insight into American blacks. You might say that it's also a vacation, except that Jerry does the same thing on vacation that he does in his Sacramento office."

The White House did not quite know what to make of Jerry's highly publicized travels with Linda. One senior Carter aide, who regards the Californian as a potential political threat, remarked: "I sense it's going to hurt him in a serious way. I can't help but wonder if there isn't something self-destructive in him." Added Dudley Dudley, a leading New Hampshire liberal Democrat: "In political terms, this sort of thing is counterproductive. A lot of people are chucking about this trip with Ronstadt."

But some experts disagree. Political Consultant David Garth feels such behavior no longer "raises eyebrows; even in the Midwest. If he were married, it would be a real problem. But they're both single." Adds Pollster George Gallup: "If you go back through the 40 years of our polling, these affairs and divorces don't seem to change opinion in any measurable way." Brown may have been counting on that.



Stalked by the press

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at no charge plus options  
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*Joe Ciagniolo*

**Hurry!**

**You’ve only got till May 10th to catch the big double savings  
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You get 5/50 Protection at no charge, whether or not you take advantage of the additional savings on these Special Option Packages (thru May 10).



**Plymouth Volare** (2-dr., 4-dr., Wagon). Special Value Package includes power steering, power brakes (standard on wagons), AM radio with rear speaker, deluxe wheel covers, standard size white sidewall tires, bumper guards and rub strips, deluxe windshield wipers and digital clock (includes 6-cylinder 2 bbl. engine on Wagon, except in California).

You get Automatic Transmission—No charge

You get 5/50 Protection Plan—No charge

You save \$318.

You save \$232.

**Total Savings \$550\***



**Chrysler LeBaron 2-dr. Salon.**

Special Spring Sport Package includes Landau vinyl roof, cloth and vinyl bucket seats, sports styled road wheels, leather wrapped luxury steering wheel, standard size white sidewall tires, and dual sport mirrors.

You get Spring Sport Package at half price

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You save \$261.

You save \$297.

**Total Savings \$518\***



**Dodge Aspen** (2-dr., 4-dr., Wagon). Special Value Package includes power steering, power brakes (standard on Wagons), AM radio with rear speaker, deluxe wheel covers, standard size white sidewall tires, bumper guards and rub strips, deluxe windshield wipers and digital clock (includes 6-cylinder 2 bbl. engine on Wagon, except in California).

You get Automatic Transmission—No charge

You get 5/50 Protection Plan—No charge

You save \$318.

You save \$232.

**Total Savings \$550\***



**Dodge Diplomat**

(all models—2-dr., 4-dr. and Wagon). Special Sound Value Package includes AM/FM monaural radio, rear seat speaker, color keyed seat belts (standard on Medallion), deluxe windshield wipers, luxury steering wheel, Halogen high-beam headlamps, premium wheel covers (standard on Medallion), vinyl roof (standard on Salon and Medallion 4-dr., not available on Wagon), body side tape strips (standard on Salon and Medallion, not available on Wagon), dual remote mirrors, front bumper guards, and front and rear rub strips.

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\*Savings based on sticker price of 5/50 Plan and option sticker prices when purchased separately compared to Double Play package price.

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SALT Critic Glenn in front of a model of the Ohio in his Senate office

## Some Pepper for SALT

John Glenn tells Jimmy Carter to be tougher with Moscow

Just as Senator John Glenn was leaving his Maryland home two weeks ago for the airport, the phone rang. It was Jimmy Carter. His voice seething with anger, he told the Ohio Democrat that the strategic arms talks with Moscow were at a "very sensitive stage." Progress on them could be slowed, said Carter, if Glenn went ahead with a speech that he was planning to deliver at the launching of a nuclear submarine that day in Groton, Conn. What upset Carter was the Senator's intention to urge the Administration to be tougher with the Soviets on the crucial matter of how to verify that they play by the rules of SALT II.

While Glenn's wife waited in the car, Glenn and the President "went at it hammer and tongs," in Glenn's words. Said Glenn: "I have never talked to a President that way before and no President has talked that way to me before."

Was it not enough, Carter asked Glenn, that he had already assured Congressmen that verification would be adequate? For Glenn, it was not. But as the Senator later said, "When the President makes a personal plea to me, I have to honor that."

Thus when it came to launching the Ohio, the first of the Trident A-sub, at Electric Boat's Groton yard, the toughest thing Glenn said was, "Verification must be better defined—or we risk having this vital treaty disapproved [by the Senate] or sent back to the President for further directed negotiating."

For the moment, Carter had won. Inexplicably, however, apparently no one informed the next speaker: Rosalynn Carter, who was there to weld her initials in the keel of the Ohio's sister ship, the Geor-

gia. Having been briefed in advance by staffers that Glenn might raise the subject of verification, she plowed ahead, reading from typed notes. "It is my feeling, and Senator Glenn understands this, that premature public debate on issues such as this can be very damaging." As for verification, she added, that is "too sensitive" to be publicly discussed.

An aide watching the normally mild-mannered Glenn said later: "His lips were blue they were so tight. If I know my man, that's just going to steel his determination to insist on his view of adequate verification." If so, Rosalynn Carter's rebuke may have been a serious blunder because



Rosalynn Carter putting on a welder's apron  
Will the U.S. know if the Soviets cheat?

Glenn, the first American to orbit the earth, is emerging as a substantial figure in the SALT debate. His fierce feelings about the important issue of verification might turn him against the treaty, despite his basic support for arms control. This would be a serious blow to the treaty in the Senate, where chances of obtaining the two-thirds vote required for ratification are very uncertain. Just last week Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker said he was "leaning against" the treaty. Among the issues worrying him: verification.

When SALT will be sent to the Senate is unclear, despite strong indications that the U.S.-Soviet talks are nearly concluded. After a series of meetings in Washington last week with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin said that an accord was "closer, ever closer, very close." Administration officials were quick to add that the remaining differences could take some time to resolve. The President, for one, was taking no bets on when the talks would end. Said he at a press conference, "After many mistakes, I have promised the public that I would not predict a date for a summit or for the conclusion of the SALT negotiations."

When the talks are finished, verification will become one of the main issues of the ratification debate. It is a problem that Glenn has been concerned about. In November 1977, he asked the State Department for a series of classified charts analyzing the provisions of the proposed SALT II treaty. The documents indicated how each provision could be verified, the reliability of the data and the chances that the Soviets would be able to fool the verification measures.

Glenn at first concluded that the U.S., by using spy satellites and listening posts on the U.S.S.R.'s border, could sufficiently monitor Soviet compliance with the arms pact. But he no longer thinks so. At Groton he said that because of the loss of two CIA intelligence-gathering stations in Iran, "very serious doubts have been cast on our ability to adequately verify the agreements." In the deleted portion of his speech he was going to add that there are major problems with the substitutes the Administration is considering for the lost listening posts. One is to establish ground monitoring sites in other countries bordering on the Soviet Union. But Glenn feels that these nations are too unstable politically to ensure a long-term relationship with the U.S. Another alternative is to send U-2 spy planes, crammed with special electronic gear, flying along the Soviet border. But these same countries might be needed to permit U-2 overflights.

Glenn urges instead—as he was going to tell the Groton audience—that the U.S. put "the decision directly up to the Soviets." He wants Washington to press Moscow for advance notice of missile tests and permission for U.S. flights "along an agreed-upon track, parallel to [the Soviet]

ICBM test-launch range, and over Soviet territories." According to Glenn, the Soviets "must either accommodate to this new and unforeseen intelligence situation or be branded before the world as the party preventing a SALT agreement for reasons of their own secrecy."

The Administration has insisted that such steps are unnecessary because the U.S. has the ability to detect Soviet cheating. Said a senior official at the Pentagon: "I have not the slightest doubt that we'll soon be substantially back to where we were before the loss of the Iranian sites."

The official agrees that the Soviets might get away with one more missile than the 2,250 allowed under SALT II, but "this wouldn't be militarily significant. But if they deployed an extra 100, we'd quickly know about it."

As an interim measure, the Pentagon advocates that U-2s regularly patrol the Soviet border, electronically monitoring activity on the Soviets' missile range. By 1984 the U.S. plans to have ready a better solution: a supersophisticated spy satellite that would take detailed photographs and intercept electronic and radio transmissions from missile tests. Knowing what it is like to view the earth from space, Glenn has a high regard for satellites. But the ones needed to verify SALT II have not been built. Said Glenn in the deleted portion of his speech: "I do not consider this an adequate replacement [for Iran] at this time."

Glenn's views on verification are widely respected by his colleagues because he has a reputation for doing his homework. Says Nevada Republican Paul Laxalt: "Most Senators are at sea on the technical data of SALT II, but Glenn obviously understands it. He will be very persuasive." Still in his freshman term, Glenn has usually taken liberal stands on social issues. But he has been outspokenly critical of the Administration on a number of foreign policy questions. He opposed Carter's plan to withdraw U.S. ground forces from South Korea and urged more "specific measures...to insure Taiwan's continued freedom to decide its own fate." He has been just as firm when dealing personally with the Soviets. During a visit to the Soviet Union last fall, he said that East European immigrants in Ohio wanted to know if the U.S.S.R. would ever loosen its rule over Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. When a few Soviet officials smiled, Glenn snapped that this was a serious matter.

Smiles have not yet returned to Glenn's relationship with the White House on SALT II, but by midweek there was some improvement. The Administration belatedly recognized that it could ill afford to antagonize the Ohio Senator. Declared a White House aide: "We've just got to have Glenn on SALT II. He's our friend." And the Senator would like to be accommodating. Said he: "If they can work out something on verification, I will be the greatest proponent of the treaty around here."



Submarine *Ohio* after its launching at the shipyard in Groton, Conn.

## Here Come the Tridents

When its black hull slipped into the waters off Groton, Conn., last week, the submarine *Ohio* launched a new era in nuclear warfare. Regarded as one of the world's most sophisticated weapons systems, it is the first of a planned fleet of 13 Trident A subs. In size alone the *Ohio* is staggering: its 560-ft length is five feet longer than the Washington Monument, and its 18,700-ton displacement nearly equals that of World War II's *Yorktown*-class aircraft carriers. Equally monumental is the ship's \$1.25 billion price tag.

The new subs will carry 24 Trident I missiles, each with a dozen warheads. The older *Polaris* and *Poseidon* subs have only 16 missile-launching tubes aboard; *Polaris* missiles carry three warheads, *Poseidon* 14. Because the range of the Trident missile is 4,000 nautical miles, some 1,500 nautical miles greater than the *Polaris* and *Poseidon* missiles, the new subs will have a much wider expanse of ocean in which to hide while still being within striking distance of Soviet targets. Moreover, their ability to run faster and quieter than the older subs will make them harder for enemy ships to detect.

When the *Ohio* is fully outfitted and commissioned in November 1980, its 154 officers and sailors will be the envy of the Navy's submariners. The crew will live in nine-man rooms instead of mass dormitories, each room with a table and lounge. At every bunk will be a stereo headset for listening to music. These amenities are important. Explains Rear Admiral Charles Larson, the Trident program coordinator: "The physical limit on how long you can stay out on a nuclear submarine is determined by the food and other consumables on board—and the psychological limit of the crew. There's a lot of habitability that's built into a Trident." Not to mention an enormous lethal punch, which is intended to deter war by ensuring that the U.S. can retaliate devastatingly in the event of nuclear attack. For the *Ohio* to succeed as a deterrent would mean that some 30 years from now, when it is expected to retire, it would never have fired a shot in anger.

Submarine *Michigan*, a sister ship of the *Ohio*, under construction at a nearby pier





# Viet Nam Comes Home

*Two winning films signal the struggle to learn from a lost war*

Englishmen who fought at Ypres and the Somme carried the *Oxford Book of English Verse* in their haversacks; such literary brigades in the trenches would find their minds chiming with a line of Keats, or William Dunbar's *Timor Mortis Conturbat Me*. The Americans in Viet Nam usually packed more kinetic cultural effects. Images given them over the years by movies and television would sometimes reel in their brains as they moved toward a tree line or a Vietnamese village, and in bizarre synaptic flips between reality and pictures, they would see themselves for an instant as, say, Audie Murphy winning his Congressional Medal of Honor in *To Hell and Back*. One writer called these dislocating fan-

tasies "life-as-movie, war-as-war-movie, war-as-life." The men could ridicule "John Wayneing," but the effect was metaphysically spooky. And, of course, it could get you killed.

Much of the American grief in Viet Nam was played out in the national imagination by way of movies and television. If the grunts on search-and-destroy in the Central Highlands sometimes kept themselves going with a jolt of John Wayne from *The Sands of Iwo Jima*, the people at home took their war each night live in their living rooms, mainlined by television directly into the bloodstream. Viet Nam was so intimately recorded that it became almost unendurably real—yet also impossibly remote, 9,000

miles away, a dark hallucination. And along with the war on the tube came the rest of the theater of the 60s: riots, assassinations, the antiwar moratoriums, the Yippies' carnagones, the circus of the counterculture.

By the late '70s, those eruptions seemed as long ago as the Great Awakening or the Indian wars. Besides the sheer passage of time, there appeared to be a willful repression of the nation's longest war and its only military defeat. The forgetfulness amounted almost to national amnesia. Two or three years ago, literary agents would tell their writers: "I can sell anything you do, but not about Viet Nam." Except for a foolishly frisky little combat comedy called *The Boys in Company C*, Hollywood would not touch the war—unless you count John Wayne's 1968 *Green Berets*, which might as well have been produced by William Westmoreland. As Director Arthur Penn (*Bonnie and Clyde*) put it several years ago, "I don't believe the war in Viet Nam can be treated in a 'popular film.' We have no capability to confront events of that enormity head-on." It was taboo, a secret, like a spectacular case of madness in the family.

But now the psychological time-lock on Viet Nam seems to have expired. Books have been tumbling out of typewriters, laden with confessions, accusations and revisionist history. American foreign policy, which for much of the '70s has suffered from a post-Viet Nam, post-Watergate reticence and drift, has grown somewhat more assertive; there are even signs of a backlash of truculence in some quarters.

Viet Nam was thrust into the forefront of most Americans' consciousness last week in a surprising but somehow fitting manner: at the Academy Award presentations witnessed by an estimated 70 million TV viewers in the U.S. So it was movies and television again that brought the war back: the technological media of illusion fancifully reconstructing what was in some ways the most illusory experience in the national history.

Ordinarily, the Academy Awards are a nice, long evening's wallow in the junk culture: you send out for Chinese food or pizza, make popcorn, keep score, watch for the awful fashions and the stilted soliloquies of acceptance. But this year, beneath the usual wisecracks and show-business sentimentality, there was more interesting drama. Jane Fonda, anathematized for years because of her radical politics and trip to Hanoi during the war, won the Best Actress award for her role in *Coming Home*, an antiwar film focused



Picture collage for TIME by Andy Warhol





Actors John Savage and Christopher Walken patrolling in *The Deer Hunter*  
Morally adrift among the Asian exotics, playing mythical roulette

sympathetically on the suffering of wounded American veterans. (Fonda, who is relentless, gave half of her acceptance speech in sign language "because there are 14 million deaf people in this country." New York *Daily News* Critic Rex Reed wrote bitchily that it "looked like an audition for *The Miracle Worker*." ) Jon Voight, who played opposite

Fonda as a paraplegic vet, won the Best Actor award.

At the end of the 3-hr, 20-min ceremonies in Los Angeles' Dorothy Chandler Pavilion, John Wayne himself came on. The old martial role model, looking gaunt but energetic, his stomach and one lung gone to cancer, presented the Oscar for Best Picture of 1978. It went to another Viet Nam movie, *The Deer Hunter*. Director Michael Cimino's story of young Ukrainian-American steelwork-

Voight and Fonda

ers from Clairton, Pa., who play pool, drink beer, watch football on TV, get drunk at a wedding, hunt deer and then go off to fight the war in 1972. It was the fifth Oscar for *The Deer Hunter* that night. The audience could only guess at the complexities of feeling that ricocheted around John Wayne's mind as he handed over the prize.

The Motion Picture Academy in years past has displayed a distaste for political controversy: half a decade ago, a streaker was more acceptable than an Oscar winner with the temerity to rail against the war. But as a headline in the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* put it last week,

THE WAR FINALLY WINS. The awards to two films about Viet Nam suggested not so much that the academy has gone hot-headedly controversial as that it judged, like the rest of the nation, that Viet Nam has receded enough to keep any discussion of it from exploding into a civil war.

The heat is by no means gone, of course. Outside the awards ceremonies, a remnant group of Viet Nam Veterans Against the War shouted protests about *The Deer Hunter*, which in style and message is a world away from *Coming Home*. The vets echoed the criticism of many old antiwar activists, who regard Cimino's cartoon treatment of the Vietnamese (played in the movie, incidentally, by Thais) as screaming sadists, much given to atrocity. Fonda called *The Deer Hunter* "a racist, Pentagon version of the war" a judgment she reached without having seen the movie. Gloria Emerson, who

covered the war for the New York *Times* and wrote a phosphorescently indignant book called *Winners and Losers*, declared last week: "Cimino has cheapened and degraded and diminished the war as no one else."

*Coming Home* has at least the charm of its political clarity: it is a straightforwardly and movingly antiwar movie that is saved from being a mere tract by its rich performances and its compassion for the Americans who fought and suffered in the war. *The Deer Hunter* is far more elusive—more forceful, less coherent, more artistically ambitious but also dangerously close to political simplism, historical inaccuracy and moral kitsch.

The fascinating difference between the two films is that *The Deer Hunter* presents a version of the American experi-



Robert De Niro

ence in Viet Nam that is utterly at variance with the view, widely held among intellectuals, of barbarously overruled Americans, a nation of William Calleys, doing battle against the frail, gentle, long-suffering Vietnamese. Cimino's victims are the ram-bunctious guys from Clairton, blue-collar heroes who took their wholesome patriotism to Viet Nam and there found themselves alone, morally adrift among savage Southeast Asian exotics who are forever forcing them to play Russian roulette. There is no record or recollection, incidentally, that the game was ever played during the American years in Viet Nam, although some old hands recall a few episodes in the '20s and '30s.

Cimino's tale may or may not be a bad description of what happened in Viet



Wheelchair veterans talking with Voight in scene from *Coming Home*

As long ago, it seemed, as the Great Awakening or the Indian wars

## Nation



Actor Robert Duval as Army colonel in Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*  
"It will take a lot of films. Viet Nam is very mysterious to us."

Nam; it depends on one's politics. It is the implication of American innocence that enrages some critics of the film. Partly the difficulty lies in trying to extrapolate a general statement of American performance in Viet Nam from the individual American stories that Cimino presents. The director, now working in Montana on a new film about the immigrant voyages west, speaks bitterly of Fonda's charges about his film. His characters, says Cimino, "are trying to support each other. They are not endorsing anything except their common humanity—their common frailty, their need for each other." Although it may be reading the film too much as allegory, the ending, with the survivors back in their shabby Pennsylvania steel town, sitting around a table and softly singing *God Bless America*, has the effect of being an absolution, a subtle exoneration of the American role in Viet Nam. Cimino might have intended the scene more as an exoneration of the men who were called on to fight there than of the policymakers who sent them. But that is not necessarily the psychological effect upon his audiences. In any case, as Cimino rightly says, "It will take a lot of films to get at Viet Nam. It's still very mysterious to us."

*Coming Home* and *The Deer Hunter*, in any case, are only the beginning. Still to come is Francis Ford Coppola's long delayed \$35 million *Apocalypse Now*, opening in August. Coppola has based the film on Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, translating the tale of savagery and evil from the Congo to Viet Nam. There, Marlon Brando, playing the Mr. Kurtz character, is a renegade Army colonel who has taken over a remote province and set up his own war against the Communists. Captain Willard (Martin Sheen)

is sent to assassinate the rebellious Kurtz. The movie is already 1½ years behind its original release date and millions of dollars over budget. Coppola has gambled his own reputation and the considerable fortune he made from his *Godfather* movies on the film's success.

Television is attempting a *Deer Hunter* of its own, *Friendly Fire*, an ABC made-for-TV movie based on C.D.B. Bryan's 1976 nonfiction book (April 22, 8 p.m.). Carol Burnett and Ned Beatty play an Iowa farm couple who turn against the war when their son is killed by an errant U.S. artillery round in Viet Nam. As their anger grows more obsessive, they grad-

A Coppola scene of helicopter war



ually alienate their lifelong friends and even their own family. In Bryan's book, the process is deeply moving, but the TV version is cluttered with clichés and civic lessons. The best TV show about the American involvement in Asia remains CBS's Korean War sitcom *M\*A\*S\*H*—and *M\*A\*S\*H*, though controversial by old TV standards, is antiwar in a context shorn of politics and anesthetized by the bedside black humor and reassuring personalities of its principals.

Playwright David Rabe's trilogy *The Basic Training of Pavlo Hummel*, *Sticks and Bones* and *Sireamers*, explored military brutalizations in the Viet Nam era. This week in Manhattan Actor Michael Moriarty is opening in David Berry's play *G.R. Point*, an equally brutal work about men doing graves registration duty in Viet Nam. Its refrain: "The 'Nam hasn't got any heroes. Dead is dumb, and dead in the 'Nam is the dumbest of all."

**M**ore and more examinations of the war are being published. The best of the war novels and memoirs, in many ways, is Michael Herr's *Dispatches* (1977). Herr, who spent a year in Viet Nam covering the war for *Esquire*, writes prose that resembles some weapon the Pentagon developed especially for Viet Nam—hallucinatory, menacing, full of anxiety, death and a stunning, offhanded sort of accuracy. Herr is a writer with the talent of a smart bomb. Like James Webb in his fairly straightforward 1978 novel *Fields of Fire*, Herr is able to locate the thing inside the soldiers, and himself, that enjoys the appalling charm of war. Writes Herr: "But somewhere all the mythic tricks intersected, from the lowest John Wayne wet dream to the most aggravated soldier-poet fantasy, and where they did I believe that everyone knew everything about everyone else, every one of us there a true volunteer. Not that you didn't hear some overripe bullshit about it: Hearts and Minds. People of the Republic, tumbling dominoes, maintaining the equilibrium of the Dingdong by containing the ever-encroaching Doodah; you could also hear the other, some young soldier speaking in all bloody innocence, saying: 'All that's just a loud, man. We're here to kill goods. Period.'"

Philip Caputo's 1977 memoir, *A Rumor of War*, another excellent and painfully earned book, recalls how he was inspired by John Kennedy's "Ask not what your country can do for you..." Caputo joined the Marines: "Having known nothing but security, comfort, and peace, I hungered for danger, challenges, and violence." At the end of his three-year enlistment, Caputo writes, "I came home from the war with the curious feeling that I had grown older than my father, who was then 51. . . . Once I had seen pigs eating napalm-charred corpses—a memorable sight, pigs eating roast people."

There have been other admirable Viet Nam books recently. Tim O'Brien's *Go-*

A close-up photograph of a hand holding a delicate diamond necklace. The necklace features a thin, dark-colored chain with small, round-cut diamonds interspersed along its length. The hand is positioned at the top left, with the thumb and index finger gently grasping the chain. The background is a blurred desk scene, showing a silver pen and a brown leather-bound book. The lighting is soft, highlighting the facets of the diamonds and the texture of the hand and background objects.

Just for a minute,  
I'll let her think I've forgotten what today is.

A diamond is forever.

The necklace shown (enlarged for detail) is available for about \$3675. Price may change substantially due to differences in diamond quality and market conditions. Your jeweler can show you other diamond jewelry starting at about \$300. De Beers

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## Nation

ing *After Cacciato*. Larry Heinemann's *Close Quarters* and Frederick Downs' *The Killing Zone*. Josiah Bunting, a novelist (*The Lionheads*) and former Army officer who served in Viet Nam and is now president of Virginia's Hampden-Sydney College, points out an anomaly of Viet Nam. "The Norman Mailers and William Styrons and all those guys stayed at Harvard for this war. The real literary genius never went." Nonetheless, Bunting expects that "within the next three or five years, there will be a major, successful *Catch-22*-style novel and film about Viet Nam. Only then will we be far enough away so as to see behind the grotesque and see how miserably and squalidly funny the whole thing was."

Movies, TV shows, plays and memoirs will eventually construct a mythic reality around the American experience in Viet Nam. World War I's catastrophic trench warfare, which nearly wiped out a generation of England's best and brightest men (France's and Germany's as well), was so utterly new and unfamiliar that a highly literate assemblage spent the next decade, at least, formulating a conception of what it had all been about. Something of the same process is occurring regarding Viet Nam.

**M**eanwhile, events in Indochina and the labors of revisionist historians and other experts with second thoughts are bringing the American tragedy there into a new perspective. The war that was fought so much with symbols in the American mind has now acquired an entirely new set of symbols: the boat people fleeing and drowning, former South Vietnamese soldiers in re-education camps ringed with barbed wire, Pol Pot's murderous regime in Cambodia. When the French were colonizing Indochina in the middle of the 19th century, the Vietnamese were just in the process of conquering Cambodia. Now they have invaded again, and have subordinated Laos as well, advancing that much closer to a possible Vietnamese elevation to the status of overlord. Their move against Cambodia spurred the Chinese, who supported Hanoi through the long American war, to invade the northern provinces of Viet Nam just after normalizing relations with the U.S.

The psychological effect on Americans of all this crisscross *Realpolitik* is to lift a lot of the moral burden off the American involvement. At the least, it seems less tenable to hold that the U.S. was guilty of the uniquely satanic imperialism that antiwar critics often saw—and still frequently see—behind American policy. The new conflicts in Southeast Asia add an element of retrospective perplexity to analysis of what the U.S. was doing there.

New voices of reconsideration are heard. Jean Lacouture, the French journalist and biographer of Ho Chi Minh and long an expert on Viet Nam, has now called for "trials" of Communist crimes in

Indochina since 1975, when Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese army. Guenter Lewy, a University of Massachusetts political scientist, fired what may be the opening shot of a revisionist view of the war in his 1978 book, *America in Viet Nam*. Lewy examines the process of U.S. involvement and concludes that though the performance was unsuccessful, it was legal and not immoral. Leslie Gelb, now the State Department's director of politico-military affairs, makes a persuasive and subtle case in his new book, *The Irony of Viet Nam: The System Worked*. Despite his inflammatory (to war critics) title, Gelb's thesis is limited and, as he says, ironic: "American leaders were convinced that they had to prevent the loss of Viet Nam to Communism, and until May 1975 they succeeded in doing just

*The Deer Hunter* is really all about."

After Viet Nam, John Kennedy's "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship..." formula rings like the penny-bright, dangerous rhetoric that it was. The old policy of containment is, of course, long dead, as is the corollary view of a Sino-Soviet Communist monolith probing ever outward. It was precisely the containment-monolith-domino view of geopolitics that led the U.S. into Viet Nam. Says Henry Kissinger: "We've learned two somewhat contradictory things. One, that our resources are limited in relation to the total number of problems that exist in the world. We have to be thoughtful in choosing our involvements. Secondly, if we get involved, we must prevail. There are no awards for losers." Anthony Lake, director of the



Lyndon Johnson looking over the troops at Cam Ranh Bay in November 1966

He asked for a "coonskin on the wall," but ended with the walls collapsing.

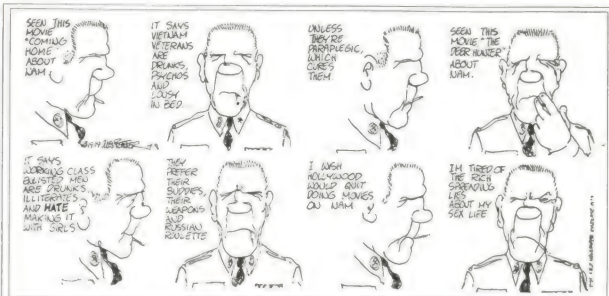
that. It can be persuasively argued that the United States fought the war inefficiently with needless costs in lives and resources. As with all wars, this was to be expected. It can be persuasively argued that the war was an out-and-out mistake and that the commitment should not have been made. But the commitment was made and kept for 25 years."

In a sense, the formal foreign policy lessons that the U.S. learned from Viet Nam have been easier to absorb than the deeper psychological and personal meanings, which will be years in unfolding. Says Columbia University historian Henry Graff: "America has learned for the first time that not everything it attempts comes off successfully. What we regarded as decency, honor and pride were not implemented in the world satisfactorily to make others see us as we thought we ought to be seen. That this could have happened to us is what

State Department's policy planning staff, uses more cautious phrasing: "What Viet Nam should have taught us is to be very clear-eyed about our interests and the situations we are getting into when we use our military power. It should not have taught us that we should never use our power. We should be very careful about doctrinaire answers or lessons—either that we should have intervened anywhere, any time or—in response to our Viet Nam experience—that we should not intervene anywhere any time."

In all, the U.S. seems to have become more cautious and considered in international politics as a result of Viet Nam. Allies, especially in Western Europe, have adopted a somewhat schizophrenic line toward the U.S., first condemning its Viet Nam War policies as obnoxiously aggressive, now worrying its policies elsewhere are contemptibly weak. Says former Under Secretary of State George Ball: "Rath-





er than snickering at America's alleged impuissance, our allies should rejoice that we have now achieved the maturity they accused us of lacking during our Viet Nam adventure."

It is the psychological, moral and spiritual adjustment that has proved more difficult and problematic. Some, of course, believe Americans are an oblivious people, who have simply cruised on and learned nothing. "We have no national memory," Lillian Hellman once told Gloria Emerson. "Maybe it's a mark of a young and vigorous people. I think we've already forgotten Viet Nam." When William Westmoreland, former U.S. commander in Viet Nam, appears on campuses these days, he finds "total change. Crowds are larger, open-minded. Now there's very little criticism, and mostly from professors." Of course, the kids Westmoreland is addressing would have been only about eight years old at the time of the Tet offensive. To them, he could almost be talking about Carthage.

Viet Nam fragmented America into constituencies that even now identify themselves according to their war grievances. The veteran vs. draft resister issue can still stir anger. William Keegan, now 29, a steel-foundry worker in Churchill, Pa., served for a year in Viet Nam as a medic after being drafted. He says bitterly: "The real heroes seem to be the guys who ran away to Canada to dodge the draft. Where will the country be if we ever face a crisis again? We'll have a heck of a time getting people to fight, and other countries know this." But many draft resisters, slipping into their 30s, also sense their communities' distaste, the snarls of veterans from the nation's more straightforward wars. Still, this month brought at least a modest symbol of reconciliation when Robert Garwood, the Marine private who spent the past 14 years in Viet Nam and may be formally charged with collaborating with the enemy, came home

to Greensburg, Ind. His townspeople carefully refrained from passing any judgment on him; they warmly welcomed him back.

One of the heaviest casualties of the Viet Nam War was trust in institutions, in experts, in majorities and consensus. That deep-dyed skepticism, born in the great credibility gaps of the war and Watergate, is one of the most profoundly significant effects of Viet Nam. Says Dr. Ronald Glasser, a Minneapolis physician who, after his Army service, wrote *365 Days*, one of the finest evocations of the war: "The present inflation, Watergate, our lack of belief in expertise, our confusion, all of these things came out of that war. When someone tells me a nuclear power plant has six back-up systems, I'm immediately suspicious."

**T**o Walter Capps, professor of religious studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara, "Viet Nam means that patriotism can never again be understood in the simple way it was before." It was a loss of innocence for a people accustomed to regarding themselves as uniquely virtuous—so much so that some of them took to seeing themselves as uniquely evil. As Critic Morris Dickstein has written: "In Viet Nam, we lost not only a war and a subcontinent; we also lost our pervasive confidence that American arms and American aims were linked somehow to justice and morality, not merely to the quest for power."

In an interview not long ago with Public Television's Bill Moyers, the poet Robert Bly argued that Americans have yet to experience a necessary catharsis: "We're engaged in a vast forgetting mechanism and from the point of view of psychology, we're refusing to eat our grief, refusing to eat our dark side, we won't absorb it. And therefore what Jung says is really terrifying—if you do not absorb the things you have done in your life, like the murder of

the Indians and bringing the blacks in, then you will have to repeat them. As soon as we started to go into Viet Nam, it was perfectly clear to me that what was about to happen was that the generals were going to fight the Indian war over again."

Yet there has been dislocation, loss and grief. Dr. Harold Visotsky, chairman of the department of psychiatry at Northwestern University, speaks of the "loss of youth, damaged lives, loss of the chance to be young—jumping from youth to middle age." Such losses were sustained by a comparatively small part of the population, of course—the poorer, less visible young men who could not escape the draft through college.

Some psychologists believe Viet Nam was like a death in the American family; it may demand that the country somehow go through the various stages of mourning: denial, anger, depression and finally acceptance. "If people don't mourn," says Loyola University Psychologist Eugene Kennedy, "they have other problems. Many of our problems now stem from wanting to be quit of Viet Nam but not wanting to work through it. We still tend to deny it: we don't want to hear about the lives sacrificed, and who they were—that they were not the boys in college, but that we sacrificed the sacrificable ones."

Visotsky, a bit grandiosely, calls movies like *Coming Home* and *The Deer Hunter* "Hollywood's version of our Nuremberg trials." But it is much easier for a people to try its defeated enemies than to sit in intelligent judgment on its own defeat. Victory requires only an idiot grin; defeat demands patience and improvisational wit. Americans should not become impatient with the stages of their adjustment to fallibility. It may be that America's most profound moral experience was the Civil War, but as both races understand, the nation has scarcely begun to absorb all of its implications.

—Lance Morrow

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# Heroes Without Honor Face the Battle at Home

In wars past, when Johnny came marching home, he could expect cheers and bands. He could also look forward to a gratitude that helped him come to terms with the horrors he had endured and gave him a feeling that his sacrifices meant something. For the Viet Nam veteran, coming home was far less glorious. "You know about the class of '46, the guys who came back after World War II, greeted with parades and jobs," says Alan Fitzgerald, 30, a drafted infantryman who fought near the Cambodian border in 1970. "When I came back and landed at San Francisco airport with 200 others, we were spit on and kicked at."

The U.S. sent 2,796,000 soldiers to Viet Nam, of whom 303,000 were wounded and 57,147 killed. For those who returned, the physical and emotional toll was drastically increased by the unpopularity of the war and America's unresolved guilt about its role. "Get that in Viet Nam?" a fellow student asked Veteran Frederick Downs as he walked across a college campus with a hook where his left hand should have been. When Downs nodded, the student snarled: "Serves you right." Says Michael Murray of Lewisboro, N.Y.: "They were down on us when they should have been down on the people who sent us there."

What makes re-entry all the more difficult is that the Viet veteran has been stereotyped as angry, alienated, semiliterate and drug-prone. Some veterans feel that their experience in Viet Nam makes prospective employers wary. Says Bruns Grayson, who went on to Harvard and Oxford after five years in Viet Nam: "What I find offensive is the feeling that all Viet Nam vets are latent psychos or, like Jon Voight in *Coming Home*, sensitive and guilt-ridden. These are comic-book caricatures." Charles Figley, a Purdue University psychologist who wrote a study of his fellow Viet Nam veterans, agrees: "All the myths about the guy being a walking time bomb are just total and utter fantasy. Most have readjusted remarkably well, considering the circumstances."

Indeed, the statistics indicate that Viet Nam-era vets are not doing so badly. Their median income is higher than that of nonveterans in the same age group. At least 65% have used the G.I. Bill to further their education; only 51% made use of it after World War II. The unemployment rate for veterans 25 to 29, however, is 7.7%, vs. a 5.5% overall average for that age group.

In many ways, the statistics are misleading. Says California's Democratic Senator Alan Cranston: "The gross indicators show they're doing well, but when you look closer at the educationally disadvantaged, the young, minorities and the disabled, you see some serious problems." These problems are masked because the figures lump together all 8.8 million veterans of the Viet Nam era, and fewer than one-third of them actually went to Viet Nam. Those who did tended to be the blacks, the poor and the less educated. One million of them have not been able to find jobs that keep them fully employed. Of the Viet Nam-era veterans

who joined the armed forces without completing high school, half have not chosen to continue their education.

According to Cleveland State University Psychologist John Wilson, the problems are particularly acute among those who saw combat duty. Using a sample of Cleveland-area veterans, he found that of those who served in battle zones, 48% of the blacks and 39% of the whites are now unemployed, and 31% of the blacks and 22% of the whites are now divorced.

Veterans Administrator Max Cleland, 36, whose right arm and both legs were blown away by a grenade near Khe Sanh, has begun pushing programs to alleviate some of the Viet vets' problems. Among the initiatives:

- ▶ A psychological counseling program, initially costing about \$10 million a year, to be conducted in storefront offices across the country. The plan, first proposed by Cranston, has been passed by the Senate three times, but not by the House, because it previously did not get strong enough

- Administration backing.
- ▶ A tax-credit program, begun this year, for firms that hire disadvantaged workers and give preference to veterans.

- ▶ Extension of the G.I. Bill for those who have not completed high school. The benefits currently expire ten years after a veteran has left the service. One strong complaint among veterans is that the provisions have not been as beneficial as the World War II G.I. Bill.

John Kerry, one of the founders of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, feels the VA is not

generous in other areas either. He is particularly bitter about the medical care provided: "With the amount of money they pay, they don't attract graduates from the best medical schools. There are a lot of foreign doctors in the VA hospitals as a result, which is a morale problem, if not a medical one."

Psychologist Figley feels the trend toward dealing more openly with the war will be good for the disabled veterans. After World War II, the long voyages home aboard troopships gave soldiers a chance to talk out their experiences and begin to absorb them. Viet Nam returnees often came home by jet, singly or in small groups. What is more, they came home to a society that was not anxious to hear about their traumas. Says Veteran Bill De Bruier: "After exchanging experiences, you feel cleansed in an odd way and you forget for a while that what you did was all for naught."

For the vets, one of the war's most troublesome legacies is a pervasive disenchantment, unregistered by statistics and unsolved by legislative programs. It is caused by the feelings that the service they rendered was meaningless and the nation's anguish and anger over Viet Nam were transferred unfairly to them. Not long ago, a Viet Nam veteran in Minneapolis was asked if there was anything he would particularly like to say to Max Cleland when the VA chief arrived in the city for a scheduled visit. The vet brooded for a moment, then replied, half sardonically, half plaintively: "Yes. 'When are we going to get our parade?'"



Viet Nam veteran during 1972 White House demonstration

MICHAEL ARROWOOD

## World

IRAN

# Summary Justice

*Harsh penalties for those who sowed "corruption on earth"*

In the euphoric days that followed the exile of the Shah, the streets of Iran's cities echoed to the rallying cry of the Islamic revolution: "Allahu Akbar!" (God is great!). Last week those shouts were heard again, this time from behind the walls of Qasr prison, a grim fortress in downtown Tehran. "Allahu Akbar!" shouted witnesses at closed trials of military men and government officials who had served the Shah. "Allahu Akbar!" cried members of the firing squads that dispatched the condemned.

By week's end at least 109 officials of the old regime had been tried, found guilty and shot, in a display of revolutionary justice that to much of the world seemed vengeful and barbaric. The trial scenes recalled the bloody aftermath of other revolutions, such as the Reign of Terror in 18th century France (see box) and the roster of the doomed read like a *Who's Who* of Iranian politics.

The most prominent victim was Amir Abbas Hoveida, 60, Iran's Premier from 1965 to 1977. After an extended trial, he was found guilty of treason and "sowing corruption on earth." Among the other men convicted by the courts were former Foreign Minister Abbas Ali Khalatbari, several former members of the Majlis (parliament) and more than two dozen generals, including the last chief of the air force and two former heads of SAVAK, the secret police.

The trials were an acute embarrassment to Premier Mehdi Bazargan. Last month, angered by accounts of the humiliation of Hoveida in midnight hearings, Bazargan went on TV to denounce the summary trials as "a disgrace." During a midnight visit to the holy city of Qum, he persuaded Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, spiritual leader of the revolution, to suspend all trials (including Hoveida's) until new guidelines could be set. But when regulations were announced two weeks ago, the trials resumed not under the jurisdiction of the ministry of justice, but of a hitherto unknown Council of Revolutionary Tribunals. The council is believed to be an arm of the secret Revolutionary Council, directed by Khomeini, that may well be the real governing authority in Iran. A spokesman for Bazargan said last week that the Premier

did not learn of Hoveida's death sentence until several hours after the execution had taken place. But he added that Bazargan felt that the penalty was in order.

Defendants in the revolutionary courts are tried under the Shari'a, the Islamic law based primarily on the Koran, rather than under Iran's penal code. Trials are conducted by a five-man panel of judges. Verdicts in the trials, some of which have lasted less than an hour, are reached by a majority vote of the judges; the sentence is handed down by the senior judge, whose appointment is approved by Khomeini, and carried out immediately. There are no appeals. The new regulations allow for defense attorneys, though none were seen at last week's trials in Tehran. The guidelines also allow for "open" courts: in practice, attendance has usually been limited to witnesses, relatives of the accused and reporters from Ettela'at, a formerly pro-Shah newspaper that now supports the government. Some members of the foreign press have recently been admitted.

As reported in the Iranian press, testimony at the trials has been sometimes startling, often moving. Khalatbari, a venerable intellectual who was charged with allowing SAVAK and CIA agents to use his foreign ministry as a cover, insisted that he was only following orders—a defense heard often at the trials. Khalatbari also raised a damning but unproven

Body of former Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida



Ex-Foreign Minister Abbas Ali Khalatbari at his trial in Tehran



Air Force General Amir Hussein Rabii argues for his life



charge against the Shah, who, he said, "used to commit treason. He killed a few people with his own hands."

In other cases, victims of torture and imprisonment under the old regime—who have been urged to come forward by appeals over Radio Iran—showed up in court with disfigured limbs and scarred bodies. "You know me, don't you?" cried one pathetically misshapen young man, about 20, to a SAVAK sergeant on trial. "Look, look at these joints that no longer function. Look at these wounds that even now won't heal!" The defendant shrank before the recollection of a night he perhaps remembered too well.

Until the end, Hoveida maintained that the policies he carried out for the Shah would have worked had they been given more time. "I should like to stress that if there is need for a victim," he told the court. "I am willing to be it." After his death sentence was read last week, he reportedly asked for a month's stay of execution so that he could write his memoirs. It was refused. Hoveida was shot by a firing squad using Israeli-made Uzi submachine guns.

Major General Hassan Pakravan, a former head of SAVAK, told his trial judges: "I accepted all the responsibilities then, and I accept them now." Air Force General Amir Hussein Rabii expressed his anger at U.S. General Robert E. Huyser, the deputy commander of U.S. forces in Europe, who had been sent to Iran with the goal of persuading the military leaders not to mount a coup against the Shah's last Premier, Shahpour Bakhtiar. Huyser, said Rabii, "came and picked up the Shah like a dead mouse by its tail and threw him out." The former air force chief asked for leniency on the grounds that he had refused orders from Bakhtiar to bomb an arsenal in Tehran that had been overrun by demonstrators. The plea was denied.

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and Amnesty International have issued protests against the Iranian trials. No complaints have been registered by any Islamic nation. Until last week, the Carter Administration had refrained from comment, apparently concerned that criticism might endanger the lives of the 3,200 Americans still living in Iran. But after U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan returned to Washington for consultation—expectations are that he will be replaced and a new ambassador named this week—the State Department issued a guarded statement about "the executions of persons who are apparently denied internationally accepted standards of justice."

Some scholars familiar with Iran argue that the trials should not be seen as a display of mindless Islamic fanaticism. There was widespread fear in Iran, they point out, that if the leaders of the former regime were not brought swiftly to trial, armed radical guerrillas would then take vengeance into their own hands. "I'm disappointed by the way the trials have

## The Reign of Terror

"The revolutionary government must act like a thunderbolt," wrote Maximilien Robespierre, the acknowledged chief of the Committee of Public Safety during the French Revolution. Throughout history, revolution has almost always been followed by a period of vengeance and terror in the name of justice. The American Revolution was a notable exception. But by comparison with the mass bloodshed that followed the French and Russian revolutions, not to mention Mao Tse-tung's conquest of China, the summary actions of Iran's new Islamic Revolutionary Court might even be considered restrained.

The classic Reign of Terror, of course, occurred during the French Revolution, when hasty trials and execution by the guillotine were used as instruments of policy to help combat conspiracies from both within and without the country. Although tens of thousands died over a decade of turmoil and civil war, the actual Terror, as the historians have come to call it, lasted only from mid-1793 to mid-1794. The terrible year in which the revolution devoured its own leaders as well as its enemies began with the execution of King Louis XVI on a cold, misty morning in January.

Entire families, including mothers with their children and nurses, converged on Paris' Place de la Revolution (now the Place de la Concorde) to see the spectacle. After the blade fell, an executioner displayed the severed head of the King to the crowd. Shouts of "Vive la nation!" rang out. Louis' tricornered hat was auctioned from the scaffold and his hair and hair ribbon were also sold by the executioner's aide. Some people took home handkerchiefs and scraps of paper dipped in the King's blood as souvenirs. Many danced around the guillotine, singing the *Marseillaise*.

Queen Marie Antoinette followed her husband to the guillotine in October. By that time, the Committee of Public Safety, a panel of revolutionaries appointed to watch over the country's internal security, had taken over the government of France. Under the pressures of war from Britain, The Netherlands, Austria and Prussia, and the threat of civil war in the provinces, the Committee condemned hundreds of aristocrats, clergymen and ordinary folk to their death on charges of plotting counterrevolutionary activities. Justice was rough, swift and harsh. Witnesses were summoned at the discretion of the courts; defendants were refused the right of counsel, and verdicts were limited to acquittal or death. The rattle of the tumblers, the two-wheeled carts that carried the doomed through the streets to the guillotine, became a familiar sound in French cities.

The atmosphere of suspicion and vengeance was such that the Committee soon began turning on its own. Robespierre succeeded in bringing to trial a number of revolutionary heroes, including Georges Jacques Danton, who had led the movement to imprison Louis XVI. Legend has it that when Danton passed Robespierre's house on his way to the guillotine, he prophesied, "Tu me suis" (You will soon follow me). Within six months Robespierre, too, had been consigned by his colleagues to the guillotine, without any trial at all. His death marked the end of the Terror, and indeed of the revolution. In 1799 a country weary of intrigues, dissension and bloodshed, almost gratefully accepted the military dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte.



Engraving of Robespierre's beheading



Head of Louis XVI

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## World

UGANDA

# Rejoicing and Revenge in Kampala

*The invaders seize the capital, as Amin disappears*

been conducted under closed auspices," says Princeton's Richard Falk. "but we must remember that those men executed were implicated in crimes against their people. In that context, we can compare their punishments with war criminals in Germany and Japan who were killed for crimes against humanity."

The condemned got little sympathy from Iranian students in the U.S., who were among the most vociferous critics of the Shah. Some pointed out that the death toll so far is a mere fraction of the tens of thousands who were killed during the last year of the Shah's regime. Others are disappointed that the trials are not public so that the facts of life under the Shah could be brought into the open. "The reason the executions were committed so promptly," says Younes Benab, an Iranian professor of economics in Washington, "is that there is fear in Iran that there may be another coup."

A more serious danger is that the country may slide into anarchy. Government forces have been barely able to suppress uprisings by rebellious Turkmen and Kurdish tribesmen in the northern provinces. Although petroleum production rose above 4 million bbl. a day last week, the oilfields around Ahwaz are still largely in the hands of dissident workers' councils, which have held numerous sit-ins to protest low wages and poor working conditions. Some 3.5 million Iranians (one-third of the work force) are unemployed; thousands of them milled around the ministry of labor in Tehran last week, demonstrating for jobs. Meanwhile, the Bazargan government survives by the grace of Khomeini, who spends his days in Qum receiving petitioners and issuing *elamiehs* (directives) against profiteering and other anti-Islamic practices. Says a Western diplomat in Tehran: "I no longer have any confidence whatsoever that Khomeini knows what is going on."

The Shah, meanwhile, was vacationing on Paradise Island in the Bahamas, still brooding about where and how he will spend his years in exile. He would like to come to the U.S. TIME has learned that President Carter has dispatched two emissaries to advise him not to apply for a visa. In defense of this repudiation of an old ally, Administration officials cite both the enormous security problem that the Shah's presence would create as well as the difficulties that the U.S. would have in improving relations with the new revolutionary government of Iran.

Some influential Americans, including former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, are appalled by this attitude toward an exiled ruler who was a staunch defender of U.S. interests during his years in power. The Shah's friends argue that he should be allowed into the country on humanitarian grounds, and that a superpower like the U.S. should not be so concerned about the feelings of the unstable government in Tehran.

The murderous eight-year reign of Uganda's "President-for-Life" Idi Amin Dada apparently came to an end last week. An invading force of Tanzanian soldiers and Ugandan rebels, after two weeks of skirmishing on the outskirts of Kampala, finally captured Uganda's capital city. At week's end Big Daddy had been missing for several days, although he was thought to be holed up with a handful of loyal troops in the vicinity of Jinja, 50 miles east of Kampala, on Lake Victoria.



Lule being sworn in

"The fascist dictator is finished!" the invaders shouted over loudspeakers as they moved slowly through the city. Two nights before, the Tanzanian army unleashed an assault on Kampala: a dozen MiG-21s screamed over the city, strafing military targets, and an eight-hour artillery barrage lit the skyline with almost continuous flashes. Next day the invading force was greeted by jubilant Kampalans who danced in the streets and tossed flowers at the advancing tanks. Accompanying the Tanzanians was TIME's Tony Avirgan, who observed: "The whole thing took on the air of a victory parade, but at times the revelry got in the way of the soldiers who were trying to disperse pockets of remaining resistance. Every time there was fighting ahead, a Tanzanian colonel would run in front of his troops, and a bugle would sound. The people were cheering wildly."

When the fighting stopped, the streets were littered with the bodies of fallen sol-

diers. "You get blood on your shoes walking around the city," reported Journalist Joseph Ngala, who visited the city on assignment for TIME, "and people drive right over the corpses." There were reports of widespread recriminations against Ugandan Muslims, who constitute only 6% of the population but were favored by Amin, himself a Muslim. The Ugandans also took revenge on soldiers sent to Amin's aid by Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi. Continued Ngala: "Near Jinja, there has been indiscriminate killing of Libyans and other Muslim soldiers. Heads of the dead have been hung on sticks and placed by the road-sides; bodies have been hung from trees." One old man, pointing to a Libyan who had been hanged, remarked, "It is difficult to forgive soldiers who came thousands of miles to kill our people."

In Kampala, the celebrating was mixed with the pillaging of shops and government offices. At a five-hour victory rally, many spectators were carrying loot; one woman mounted a typewriter on her head, and another sat on a newly acquired office chair. Asked a speaker: "What are our new Cabinet ministers to think when they arrive at their offices and discover they don't have chairs to sit on?" A Tanzanian soldier sported the best memento of all: Amin's military cap, which Big Daddy apparently left behind in his haste to depart from the capital.

Yusufu Lule, President of the Ugandan provisional government that was sworn in on Friday, is a former chancellor of Uganda's Makerere University who had been living in exile in London for several years. His government is strongly supported by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who organized the invasion effort after Amin seized and occupied some 700 sq. mi. of Tanzanian territory six months ago. Since Nyerere's troops did most of the fighting, the fall of Kampala marked the first successful invasion by one African country of another since the end of colonialism.

Declaring that the deposed dictator "deserves the gallows" for his role in killing at least 300,000 of his people, the national radio called on Ugandans "to find him wherever he is." Lule (pronounced Loo-lay), who will hold office until elections can be called, struck a more reflective note when he told his countrymen, "Ugandans from every tribe and every family have suffered from his murders, torture, terror, robbery and plunder. From this day, Ugandans must resolve never to allow a dictator to rule them again."



Invader with Amin's cap

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

## Sneak Attack

Nkomo's narrow escape

For the guerrillas of the Patriotic Front, nothing was more important than disrupting elections in Rhodesia that will usher in Prime Minister Ian Smith's version of black majority rule. For Smith and his three black colleagues in the interim government of the breakaway British colony, nothing was more essential than preventing the guerrillas from carrying out their plans. On the eve of balloting by the country's blacks, a heavily armed Rhodesian raiding party last week struck deeply into Zambia, which provides a headquarters and staging bases for 16,000 irregulars of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). In a lightning foray that underscored the feeble defenses of Rhodesia's black-ruled northern neighbor, the invaders overwhelmed a Zambian army base and razed Nkomo's home and headquarters. The suspicion was that the Rhodesians intended either to assassinate the portly nationalist leader or to take him back to Salisbury as a hostage.

The operation, which followed several devastating Rhodesian air attacks on other ZAPU camps in Zambia last week, began before dawn. A white-led force of Rhodesia's Special Air Service (SAS) commandos and black troops from the elite Selous Scouts slipped into Zambia, apparently by helicopter. The raiders attacked a military post near the border, commandeered several camouflage Land Rovers and set out for Lusaka, 62 miles away. At about 3 a.m., they arrived in Woodlands, a section of Lusaka where Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, several foreign diplomats and Nkomo maintain their homes. The Rhodesians killed Nkomo's drowsy bodyguards with a burst of machine-gun fire, scaled the 8-ft. fence surrounding his one-story stucco house and blew it up with explosives. Although Zambia had beefed up its defensive capabilities with a new supply of British weapons after a humiliating raid on ZAPU camps last October, the Rhodesians claimed that their men returned home without suffering a single death or injury.

Nkomo, who has changed his residence nightly as a security measure, later insisted that he had been at home as the attack began. "When the shooting started, I got out," Nkomo said. "I heard them yelling, 'Come out, you terrorists and your leader. We want to take him to Salisbury.'" That would undoubtedly have pleased Robert Mugabe, Nkomo's co-leader of the Patriotic Front, who was in Lusaka last week to attend a meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization. Mugabe's 8,500 Mozambique-based guerrillas have borne the brunt of the fighting inside Rhodesia, while most of Nkomo's larger and better equipped force has sat out the battle in Zambia.



A twin-engine Beechcraft turboprop, similar to the one that South Africa said was a spy plane

## DIPLOMACY

## Carter's Desperate Crusade

A crisis with South Africa and Pakistan over nuclear weapons

Like mushrooms after a spring rain, nuclear plants in recent years have sprouted all over the globe. The reason is clear: as the price of oil becomes ruinously expensive, and oil's availability more uncertain, most nations must take steps to acquire alternate sources of energy. But the spread of this potent technology has also led several countries to try to acquire nuclear weapons on their own. Persuading them not to do this has become a desperate diplomatic crusade of the Carter Administration. Washington's opposition to expanding the nuclear club is often at odds with other vital U.S. objectives and subjects the White House to charges of fumbling or incompetence. South Africa and Pakistan last week became cases in point.

In a toughly worded statement read on prime-time television in South Africa, Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced the expulsion of several members of the American mission in Pretoria for "aerial espionage." A grim-faced Botha told South Africans that a twin-engine Beechcraft turboprop used by U.S. Ambassador William B. Edmondson had been "converted for use as a spy plane by the installation of an aerial-survey camera under the seat of the copilot." The Prime Minister charged that "the embassy aircraft was engaged in a systematic program of photography of vast areas of South Africa, including some of our most sensitive installations." Botha's disclosures seemed designed both to embarrass

the Carter Administration at a time when the U.S. is pressing South Africa to accept a United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, and to deflect attention from his scandal-ridden government at home.

The State Department flatly refused to deny the charges, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said that "no apology" would be issued, as the South African Prime Minister had

demand. The following day, Willem Retief, South Africa's Chargé d'Affaires, was summoned to the State Department and told that two of his mission's military attachés were being ordered to leave the U.S. within a week, in direct retaliation for the expulsion of three American defense attaches.

The brusque U.S. response to Botha's charges, as well as the refusal to deny that espionage was involved, reflected the Administration's worries about South Africa's nuclear capacity. In 1977 U.S. and Soviet aerial reconnaissance photos provided evidence that the South Africans were preparing to test a nuclear device in the Kalahari Desert. Despite Pretoria's assurances that "it does not have and does not intend to develop nuclear explosives," President Carter declared at the time that the U.S. would continue "to monitor very closely" South Africa's nuclear development.

Washington has also been concerned about proliferation in Pakistan. Several weeks ago, the Carter Administration accumulated what one official described as "good, solid evidence that Pakistan was after the bomb," having made carefully screened purchases of nuclear enrichment equipment from several West European firms. The conclusion triggered a U.S. decision to cut \$40 million in annual aid to Pakistan. That step is required by the Arms Export Control Act, which calls for an aid cutoff to nations involved in the exchange of nuclear enrichment

or reprocessing materials without international safeguards. Administration officials anguished over the impact that such a move could have at a time when Washington sought to bolster relations with Pakistan and to persuade its ruler, General Zia ul-Haq, to spare the life of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The realities of nuclear power prevailed, however, and the aid was cut off.



Edmondson

## World

CENTRAL AMERICA

# Nicaragua's Bloody Holiday

*Anti-Somoza rebels resume their offensive*

**P**ractically every Nicaraguan, from Dictator Anastasio ("Tacho") Somoza Debayle to his opponents in the Sandinista National Liberation Front, usually tries to go on vacation in Holy Week. The traditional holiday was shattered last week by a bloody eruption of the country's sputtering civil war. Discarding a truce they had announced for the week before Easter, 100 battle-hardened guerrillas took up positions in trenches and behind concrete barricades in the city of Esteli (pop. 25,000), where hundreds died in the bloodiest fighting of last September's Sandinista uprising. They were quickly joined by young protesters, who pledged to fight to the last man beside the guerrillas.

From Managua, a heavily armed column of Somoza's National Guardsmen, equipped with tanks and supported by rocket-firing airplanes, laid siege to the rebel positions. In the savage fighting that followed, hundreds died and more than 15,000 sought refuge in the surrounding villages. Predicted one guerrilla: "Only the dead will remain here. We will die, but we will take a lot of Guardsmen with us."

Somoza was vacationing in Esteli with his children. The country he had left behind was in chaos: teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, unable to secure loans from international banking organizations, bitterly estranged from its onetime supporters in Washington. Despite the ruthlessness with which Somoza's Guardsmen had suppressed last year's rebellion, in which at least 2,000 people were killed, he has been unable to contain the guerrillas. In the past few weeks, rebels have wiped out a small government garrison in El Jicaral and shot down an armed C-47. In response, the dictator beefed up the National Guard from 8,100 to more than 12,000, and imported an arsenal of new weapons, including Israeli assault rifles and machine pistols. The National Guard, which is commanded by the dictator's half brother, Colonel José Somoza, is now so preoccupied with battling the rebels that routine police work has been sacrificed and street crime is rampant. Complains the manager of a bottling company whose trucks were robbed 51 times in March alone: "The average citizen doesn't know who is going to hit him over the head or put a gun in his ribs and take the money from his pockets."

Somoza's critics now include a majority of the nation's businessmen; they claim that none of this would have happened if the Carter Administration had more forcefully pressed the dictator to step down. They point out that U.S. Marines were instrumental in installing the Somoza family in power 46 years ago. In light of that, they charge, Washington should have gone well beyond the cutoff of economic and military assistance that the Carter Administration ordered after Somoza last January rejected an American proposal for a plebiscite to determine his government's future. "Such sanctions have no impact on a ruler with a feudal mentality," charges Alfonso Robelo Callejas, leader of the moderate Broad Opposition Front, which has been losing members to more extremist organizations.

For his part, Somoza contends that



Sandinista guerrillas behind barricades in city of Esteli last week

"We will die, but we will take a lot of Guardsmen with us."



the U.S. aid cutoff was unwarranted and contributed to an exodus of foreign investment that worsens Nicaragua's economic plight. "As the most capitalistic country in the world," he told TIME Correspondent Bernard Diederich, "the U.S. should not be disturbing small countries like ours and disturbing investors to these countries. I am sorry to say it, but I have to, goddammit."

**N**icaragua is not the only Central American military regime plagued by political violence. In El Salvador, one of the hemisphere's most densely populated countries (531 people per sq. mi.), foreign businessmen are packing their bags because of a rash of terrorist kidnappings. In the past 16 months, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), one of three well-organized leftist groups, has collected an estimated \$40 million in ransoms. The leftists mean business; last month the FARN killed Coffee Exporter Ernesto Liebes, 74, after he instructed his family not to pay the \$10 million ransom demanded by his abductors. Despite demands from El Salvador's

wealthy oligarchs for an all-out crackdown on the terrorists, the military government of General Carlos Humberto Romero Mena has been unexpectedly restrained. Romero repealed a draconian anti-terrorist law, contending that it had proved "of no value" in combatting the leftists.

In Guatemala, much of the violence comes from the ultra-right. In January, Alberto Fuentes Mohr, a Congressman and former Finance Minister, was gunned down in the streets of Guatemala City, only a day after the government had cleared the way for the legalization of his small opposition Revolutionary Party. Last month the country's most popular leftist leader, Manuel Colom Argüeta, was

also assassinated. The killing came a week after his party, the United Revolutionary Front, had been granted formal recognition. President Romeo Lucas García has denied government complicity in either murder; in fact, he had provided Colom with one of the two bodyguards involved in last month's attack. Most observers blame the killings on G-2, the intelligence branch of the army. With the leaders of both major opposition parties, as well as numerous union leaders, dead, "the outlook for a compromise now with liberal forces is very pessimistic," said Vice President Francisco Villagrán Kramer. Colom may have put it better. A year ago, he told a Mexican journalist: "Here there are no political prisoners. Just dead politicians."



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## World

CHINA

# Turning Back the Clock

*China curbs its dissidents and looks again at modernization*

In Hubei (Hupei) province, the local radio station declared that April 5 to May 4 was "Uphold Public Morals Month." Citizens were directed to observe law and order, behave politely and "cherish public property." In Sichuan (Szechwan), the authorities denounced "muddled ideas and unhealthy trends" among "some young people." In Henan (Honan), the Provincial Revolutionary Committee decreed a "total ban" on posters and other publications that criticized socialism, Communist Party leadership or Mao Tse-tung's thought. In Peking, foreign residents learned that Chinese would henceforth be forbidden to make contact with them unless instructed to do so. All across China, party leaders were cracking down on the kind of free expression that had been openly encouraged only five months ago.

The new policy was first signaled by Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) in a speech to party officials last month. Among other things, Deng denounced Chinese who indulged in Western-style dancing or who "sold state secrets" to foreigners. As if on cue, city and provincial bosses quickly went on the attack against all political protest. China's press denounced "ultra-democracy," as well as the "black sheep" who helped "to launch vicious attacks on party and state leaders." The Peking *Daily* dismissed human rights as a mere "bourgeois slogan."

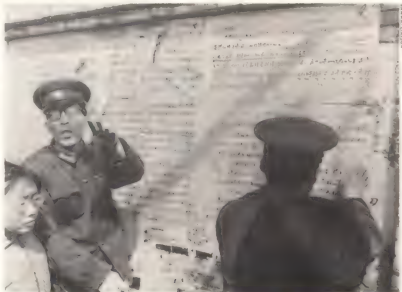
In Peking, a six-point circular issued by the municipal committee forbade the posting of wall posters anywhere in the city except on the 100-yd. stretch of Changan Avenue at Xidan Street that has become known as democracy wall. A *People's Daily* editorial, which accompanied the edict, warned against "gatherings and parades that block traffic, attacks on the party, government and military organs," and "other acts of rumor-mongering and troublemaking."

Still more proof that the leadership meant business came when plainclothes police two weeks ago arrested four prominent human rights activists as they tried to paste up a wall poster that denounced the authorities for repression. The activists belong to a group that publishes a clandestine journal called *Inquiry*. Protesting the arrest of its own editor, Wei Jingsheng, 29, the journal complained: "Where is freedom of speech in China? All criticism is fiercely suppressed as contrary to socialism and to the dictatorship of the proletariat. What brutal hypocrisy!" A wall poster responding to Deng's speech sneered that he and his Politburo cronies were "successors and followers" of the Gang of Four—the clique headed

by Mao's widow Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing)—who had been Deng's most bitter enemies.

What had gone wrong? One theory favored by Sinologists was that Deng Xiaoping had concluded that his people had let off enough steam, and that further permissiveness by party leaders was an invitation to anarchy. In fact, China's press for the past few weeks has been filled with strange stories about youthful rebellion. In Shanghai, thousands of unemployed youths who had illegally returned from enforced stints in the countryside rioted near a city employment office in protest

king appeared to have second thoughts about its massive Four Modernizations campaign. The cutback also hit American corporations. U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel, both of which were on the verge of closing multimillion dollar deals for the sale of equipment to develop iron ore mines, were told by Chinese officials that the agreements would have to be deferred until further notice. Plans for Inter-Continental and Hyatt International to build thousands of hotel rooms have given way to other priorities. On a visit to Japan last week, Deng Yingchao, widow of the late Premier Chou En-lai, explained: "We have now realized that there were too many projects to be launched simultaneously. We must keep the balance between agriculture and light industry. One step backward is necessary for two steps forward."



Peking police strip a poster from "democracy wall" after arresting its authors

*Amidst a return of witchcraft and prostitution, it was time for a ban on "muddled ideas."*

against the lack of jobs. According to some wall posters, unemployment had forced girls into prostitution and turned men to become beggars and thieves. The *Hunan Daily* thundered against "pickpockets, vagabonds and criminals," and reported that five party officials had been fired for staging "wild parties." A Nanjing (Nanking) newspaper told of a witchcraft murder and a resurgence of fortunetelling and divination.

**T**he new policy of the government seemed to be: Don't push democracy too hard. At the same time, Deng and his allies had a message for foreign businessmen hoping to profit from China's opening to the West: Don't push industrialization too fast. Japanese companies suddenly found themselves prevented from fulfilling 30 contracts worth \$2.1 billion for plants and machinery, as Pe-

Still furious with the Chinese for launching an invasion of its northern provinces two months ago, Viet Nam charged that both the political and economic retrenchment were the result of losses suffered in the war. Western analysts had a simpler and more plausible explanation. They tended to accept at face value Peking's claims that there had indeed been too much emphasis on heavy industry in the original development plans. Sinologists were surprised, too, by the re-emergence into public life of two old foes of Deng: Secret Police Chief Wang Dongxing (Wang Tung-hsing) and former Peking Mayor Wu De (Wu Teh). This did not mean, however, that the Vice Premier was in serious political trouble. Rather, the probability was that Deng had to slow the hectic pace of modernization in order to secure the continued cooperation of his colleagues.

## World

BRITAIN

### A Choice, Not an Echo

*The rival messages: Jobs and Trust vs. Tax Cuts and Freedom*

Many of Britain's 35 million voters agree that the May 3 general election could be the country's most significant since World War II. If nothing else, the electorate will be presented with a clear choice, not an echo. Labor's standard-bearer is avuncular James Callaghan, 67, a soothingly familiar leader of his party with a simple message: jobs and trust. His Tory opponent is Margaret Thatcher, 53, determined to become not only Britain's first woman Prime Minister but a rigorously conservative one as well. Her message to the voters was equally plain and concise: tax cuts and freedom.

With his party trailing the Tories by margins of 6% to 21% in the early polls, Callaghan fired the first salvo of the campaign in Glasgow, a traditional Labor fiefdom in Scotland's troubled industrial heartland. Claiming that his Labor government had "directly created and protected" 1.2 million jobs, he declared: "There is not a single part of the United Kingdom that would not suffer from the Conservative policy of cutting the jobs program. They would turn Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and many regions of England into deserts of unemployment."

In barnstorming the country with his folksy "Sunny Jim" image, Callaghan conveyed a sense of confidence that could not have been more than smile-deep. A disastrous winter of crippling strikes robbed Callaghan of what could have been his strongest campaign weapon: Labor's ability to work smoothly with Britain's powerful trade unions. Beyond that, many voters were well aware that Callaghan was saddled with a compromise manifesto, or platform, that had been hammered out between the party's moderates and its disproportionately influential left wing. Callaghan had held out for a program that would not frighten away crucial swing-voters that both Labor and the Tories

need in order to win office. A tough and shrewd fighter, he made it plain at one point that the choice was between him and the left's proposals. Callaghan won, but not before Eric Heffer, a leading member of the left-wing Tribune Group, grumbled, "Jim, you're not God, you know. I'm not even sure you're a socialist."

The approved draft of the manifesto proposes a cut in income tax but a new "wealth tax" on the affluent, increased spending on health and social services, a proportional reduction in defense outlays, and an end to the power of the House of Lords, which is overwhelmingly Tory, to delay legislation.

Carefully guarding their lead in the polls, Thatcher's Tories did not begin their official campaigning until this week. The decision to hold back was part of a Conservative strategy to put Labor out front, thereby denying Callaghan the opportunity to attack Thatcher policies by forcing him to defend his own record as Prime Minister for the past three years. There was also fear among Tory tacticians that Thatcher might fall back into her earlier habit of making provocative statements, thus committing a campaign gaffe that could cost the Tories their lead.

As a personality, Thatcher poses a problem for Labor. Drawing on his own reassuring image, Callaghan makes the most of Thatcher's radical brand of conservatism, her inexperience in foreign affairs and her hard line on the unions. So far, he does not mention her by name, and he has warned his aides against any personal attacks for fear of a backlash. Women make up more than half of the electorate, and polls show that more women vote Conservative than vote Labor. Somewhat surprisingly, working-class women tend to favor Thatcher more than middle-class women do, and the Tory leader can discuss supermarket prices with a housewife's familiarity. Neverthe-

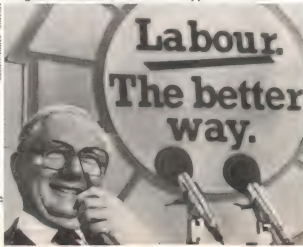
less, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey last week could not resist a quip about former Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath's all-out efforts in the campaign. Said he: "It is the first time that the Ancient Mariner has ever gone to the aid of the albatross."

Unruffled as ever, Thatcher introduced the Conservative manifesto at her first open press conference for both the British and foreign press. She presented and defended a document that promised income tax cuts at all levels, a curb on secondary picketing, secret ballots in union elections, cuts in government spending except for defense and the police, a stop to further nationalization, and an end to government interference in wage negotiations in private industry. The Tories also called for a change in British policy toward Rhodesia, which would bring a Thatcher government into confrontation with the Carter Administration. Although the U.S. and Britain refused to send official observers to this month's elections in Rhodesia, the Tories sent their own. If, in their view, the elections are "reasonably fair and free," the Conservatives may recognize an independent Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and propose an end to current United Nations sanctions against the breakaway British colony.

To Thatcher, the campaign is a crusade for a free economy and greater individual responsibility; Callaghan sees it as a choice between a caring society and a callous one. The Liberals and the minor parties are, for the moment, on the sidelines. The British will be spared a television onslaught, since both major parties will be allowed a total of 50 minutes each throughout the campaign for party broadcasts. Still, Labor delights in poking fun at the glossy publicity campaign mounted by the Tories and their trendy London advertising firm, Saatchi & Saatchi Garland-Compton Ltd. Says Callaghan: "I don't intend to end this campaign packaged like cornflakes. I shall continue to be myself." Margaret Thatcher, apparently, would rather be Prime Minister. ■

Thatcher shows a housewife's familiarity with prices at London store

Callaghan in an avuncular mood at Labor Party press conference



## Ripper's Return

*Killer in a triangle of terror*

Josephine Whitaker, 19, was so proud of her new watch that she rushed to her grandparents' house on the other side of Savile Park in the Yorkshire town of Halifax to show it off. She started for home at 11:40 p.m., declining an offer to stay overnight because she had forgotten her contact-lens case. "Don't worry, I'll run all the way," she assured her grandparents before stepping out into the night.

At 6:30 a.m. the next day, a woman waiting for a bus spotted what she thought was a bundle of rags lying on the grass in the large open park known locally as "the moor." Not far away was a single brown stack-heeled shoe. Coming closer, the woman discovered Josephine's body; she had died only 300 yards away from her parents' front door. The bruised, blood-stained corpse bore distinctive wounds, convincing police that a sadistic killer known as the "Yorkshire Ripper" had claimed another victim. Declared George Oldfield, assistant chief constable of the



19th century cartoon of East End murderer



Battered body of Josephine Whitaker lying in Halifax's Savile Park

*A homicidal maniac was at large, and even respectable women were terrified*

West Yorkshire police: "Clearly, we have a homicidal maniac at large."

It had been nearly a year since the Ripper last struck. Nine of his ten previous targets were prostitutes working the red-light districts of such grimy North England industrial towns as Leeds, Huddersfield and Bradford. The murder of Josephine Whitaker, an entirely respectable clerk, set off fears that the unknown killer might attack any woman in "a triangle of terror" in West Yorkshire and Lancashire. "The whores in the red-light area of Leeds are so jumpy that some gulf tranquilizers before going out to work," reports *TIME* Correspondent Art White after a visit to Yorkshire last week. "Some are carrying sharpened hammers and small hatchets in their handbags, presumably hoping that these weapons will give them a chance to fight off the Ripper if he picks them up. They have taken to working in pairs; when one is picked up by a man in a car, the other conspicuously writes down the license number."

Police will not discuss the Ripper's trademark murder technique, because they fear that lurid revelations might inspire other killers to imitate his grisly methods. Some details, however, came out at an inquest on Jean Jordan, the Ripper's seventh victim. At that proceeding, a pathologist reported that the victim had been slashed and mutilated in a

style reminiscent of the original Jack the Ripper. In 1888 a rapacious killer whose identity has never been established savagely murdered five prostitutes in London's East End.

To catch the Yorkshire Ripper, police have mounted the biggest man hunt in British history; more than 300 officers are currently assigned full time to the investigation, which has already cost more than \$5 million. Police are mystified by the gaps between the Ripper's murderous outbursts; more than a year elapsed between his third and fourth attacks. Psychologists have put together a profile suggesting that the killer is a powerfully built single white male, between 30 and 50 years old, who probably lives in West Yorkshire, alone or with his aged mother. An obvious psychopath, he may have developed a hatred for prostitutes because of a perceived sexual inadequacy or because a female relative once worked the streets.

Last week police began circulating a composite photographic likeness of a "scruffy looking, mustached suspect who tried to pick up a woman in Halifax just three hours before Josephine Whitaker was murdered. Rebuffed, he drove off in an old Ford. Police suspect that the killer may live with someone who is deliberately shielding him from the investigators. Says Oldfield: "Until this man is caught he will continue to kill and kill again." ■

GREECE

## A City Is Dying

*Smog-smothered Athens*

Stinking buses, their passengers gaunt, pale and weary, jam the crowded streets. Drivers shout at one another and honk their horns as they turn the city's few escape routes into ribbons of steel. Smog smarts the eyes and chokes the senses. The scene is Athens at rush hour. The city of Plato and Pericles is in a sorry state of affairs, built without a plan, lacking even adequate sewerage and sanitation facilities, hemmed in by mountains and the sea, its 135 sq. mi. crammed with 3.7 million people. Even Athens' ruins are in ruin: sulfur dioxide eats away at the marble of the Parthenon, the Erechtheum and other treasures on the Acropolis. As Greek Premier Constantine Karamanlis has said, "The only solution for Athens would be to demolish half of it and start all over again."

So great has been the population flow toward the city that entire hinterland villages stand vacant or nearly so. About 120,000 people from outlying provinces move to Athens every year, with the result that 40% of Greece's citizenry are now packed into the capital. The migrants come for the few available jobs, which are usually no better than the ones they fled. At the current rate of migration, Athens by the year 2000 will have a population of 6.5 million, more than half the nation.

Aside from overcrowding and poor public transport, the biggest problems confronting Athenians are noise and pollution. A government study concluded that Athens was the noisiest city in the world. Smog is close to killing levels: 180-300 mg of sulfur dioxide per cubic meter of air, or up to four times the level that the World Health Organization considers safe. Nearly half the pollution comes from cars. Despite high prices for vehicles and fuel (the government two weeks ago raised the price of gasoline to \$2.95 per gal.), nearly 100,000 automobiles are sold in Greece each year; 3,000 driver's licenses are issued in Athens monthly.

After decades of neglect, Athens is at last getting some attention. In March a committee of representatives from all major public service ministries met to discuss a plan to unclog the city, make it livable and clean up its environment. A save-Athens ministry, which will soon begin functioning, will propose heavy taxes to discourage in-migration, and a minimum of \$5 billion in public spending for Athens alone. The ministry will also have an extensive investment program for rural areas to encourage residents to stay put. A master plan that will move many government offices to the city's fringes is already in the works. Meanwhile, more Greeks keep moving into Athens. With few parks and precious few oxygen-producing plants, the city and its citizens are literally suffocating. ■

# Religion

## Keeping Vows

*Celibacy is forever*

**T**here was a time not so long ago when few Roman Catholic priests dared request release from their vows. Fewer still were granted such a request. But since the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church has faced a flood of applications for "laicization," and agitation in favor of making the celibacy rule optional continues.

Last week Pope John Paul II stated in the strongest possible terms that the tradition, dating back 16 centuries, will continue throughout his pontificate. The celibacy rule, he declared, "constitutes a characteristic, a peculiarity, and a heritage of the Latin Catholic Church, a tradition to which she owes much and in which she is resolved to persevere, in spite of all the difficulties... and in spite of the various symptoms of weakness and crisis in individual priests."

The words came in the customary papal message to priests upon their Holy Thursday renewal of vows, but to Vatican watchers the occasion was anything but routine. Along with the 8,000-word statement on the priesthood, two chapters of which were a virtual mini-encyclical on celibacy, John Paul issued a 1,600-word letter to the world's bishops, exhorting them to make certain that priests follow his teachings. Only the Vatican has the power to release a priest from his vows. During John Paul's half year as Pope, the Vatican has received more than 300 petitions from individual priests. So far he has refused to endorse a single one. By contrast, in 15 years Pope Paul VI got 32,357 requests, granting all but 1,033 of them.

In John Paul's view, men spend years preparing to take vows, and once they have done so, that commitment should be indissoluble. He spoke of "the inner maturity" and "personal dignity" of "keeping one's promise to Christ, made through a conscious and free commitment to celibacy for the whole of one's life." A priest, he then added, should not seek an "administrative" remedy, as though a matter of conscience were not involved.

**I**f John Paul continues his freeze on laicization, says one prelate familiar with Vatican processing, "I am sure that many priests will just walk out as they did in preconciliar years." (Priests who leave without permission and then marry, as many do, are excommunicated.)

The surprise was not that the Pope reaffirmed the rule, but that he did it so dramatically and so early in his reign. Despite all the popular pressure against the policy, he clearly feels that the church will be stronger in the long run if it stands by its rigorous traditions. ■



Seven Soviet Pentecostals, who insist on emigration, in their refuge last summer

## Moscow Pray-In

*Holing up in the U.S. embassy*

**T**hey came seeking help, rushing past surprised Soviet guards and bursting into the U.S. embassy in Moscow last June 27. The seven Soviet citizens are now holed up as unwelcome guests in a 20-ft. by 12-ft. basement room (plus kitchen and bath). They are permitted no mail through diplomatic channels, cannot meet with reporters in the embassy building, and live in relative isolation. But they are adequately fed, at U.S. expense. Sympathizers have sent them books, and even a game of Russian Scrabble.

What they do mostly, though, is hold prayer meetings and silently hope they will eventually win the right to emigrate to the West. All of them—Pyotr and Augustina Vashchenko, their three adult daughters, and a mother and son, Mariya and Timofei Chmykhalov—are Pentecostals, a handful of the millions of Christians who have suffered religious persecution in the Soviet Union. For the Vashchenkos, the struggle to emigrate began 16 years ago in the grim mining town of Chernogorsk after the government seized children from supposedly "unfit" Pentecostal parents and sent them to be reared by state agencies. As a result, five of the Vashchenkos, attempting to leave the Soviet Union, joined a much publicized U.S. embassy sit-in. After trying to enter the embassy again in 1968, two members of the family were sentenced to three years in a labor camp.

This time, distrustful of Soviet promises that they will not be arrested, all seven are holding out for guaranteed emigration

for their entire families. For the Vashchenkos, that means 13 children. As a further complication, one son is already in prison for pacifist defiance of the army draft. Another will reach draft age next month and faces possible imprisonment.

All this presents American Ambassador Malcolm Toon with a seemingly insoluble problem. He hopes the seven will leave voluntarily, but that appears as likely as the prospect that the Soviets will let the son out of prison and the families emigrate. On the other hand, the U.S. can hardly turn these refugees out into the street. The plight of the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs dramatically illustrates the condition of thousands of dissenting Protestants who want to quit the U.S.S.R. so they can practice their faith without government restrictions, most notably on the religious education of their children. In Kiev last month, newly released Baptist Prisoner Pyotr Vins was twice assaulted by police thugs after trying to arrange his family's emigration. His father Georgi, national leader of dissident Baptists, was due for release from a labor camp March 31 but still faces five years of Siberian "exile."

Though the Soviets allowed about 30,000 Jews to emigrate last year and are now increasing that rate, there is minimal support from Western Christians for Protestants who want to leave. That may change. Amnesty International has launched a major campaign on behalf of imprisoned Protestants, calling for protest letters to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev at the Kremlin. Among the many prisoners: the oft-jailed leader of a breakaway Seventh-day Adventist group, who has just been sentenced to five years of hard labor—at age 83. ■



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# MERIT

Kings & 100's



# ANNOUNCING 1980



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## Press



Star Editor Stephen Isaacs in his office: lighting a fire under "a warmed-over news report"

### Democracy in Minneapolis

Employees get a role in reshaping their newspaper

"You God damn titling moron—you lousy stewart ... You're going to cover the hanging like I asked you!"

In such tones did Managing Editor Walter Burns make his wishes known to Reporter Hildy Johnson in that 1928 Broadway classic *The Front Page*. Generations of fire-breathing editors have embraced this persuasive management technique, but one news executive is flirting with an unusual alternative: democracy. At the Minneapolis *Star* (circ. 226,828), rank-and-file editorial employees have been given an active role in deciding how to reshape their foundering evening paper.

The outside agitator who introduced the *Star* to "participatory management," as the arrangement is called, is Stephen D. Isaacs, 41, former Washington Post *Wunderkind* (metropolitan editor at 26) and most recently director of the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service. When Isaacs became the *Star's* editor a year ago, the paper was, in the words of Publisher Donald R. Dwight, 48, "a warmed-over daily news report that was neither timely nor very interesting." The *Star* had lost 75,000 subscribers since the 1950s. Last July, for the first time in its 59 years, the paper fell behind the morning *Tribune* (circ. 226,899). Both are owned by the Minneapolis *Star & Tribune Co.*, publisher of *Harper's* magazine.

Isaacs had a few ideas about how to save the *Star*, but he did not want to impose them arbitrarily and risk alienating the wary staff. So he borrowed from a successful participatory management scheme introduced in 1972 at a car-mirror plant in Bolivar, Tenn. Isaacs set up eight committees (there are now eleven) composed of newsroom volunteers and usually a management representative. The com-

mittees suggested ways to improve the *Star's* design, writing, editorials, special sections and allocations of manpower, space and money. A strategy committee considered the paper's overall position in the market. Says Reporter Frank Allen, 32, chairman of the strategy group: "We were supposed to take the lid off the bottle and think as wildly as we dared about what the *Star* could become."

After considering a number of alternatives—ranging from a racy tabloid ("the fuel-injected Minneapolis *Tangerine*," it was jokingly called) to a sober newspaper of record ("the Minneapolis *Times*," after a certain self-important daily in New York City)—the committees selected a middle course. The result: the *Star's* traditional no-frills hard-news approach was shucked in favor of more analytical coverage, occasionally frivolous feature stories, breezier writing and zettier graphics. The company did its part by increasing the editorial budget \$1.4 million, to \$5.5 million. *Star* reporters began turning up in such far-flung places as Italy and Niagara Falls, and writing long, thoughtful pieces on migrant workers, regional government and the labor movement in the airline industry.

At the manpower committee's suggestion, the staff was divided into "teams" that meet at least once weekly to discuss story assignments and other newsroom business. Management agreed to add ten new reporters to the 50-member corps, including specialists in food processing and higher education, important local industries that had been neglected. At the strategy committee's suggestion, the paper has beefed up its coverage of the computer and health-care businesses.

Though ideas from virtually every committee found their way into the new

*Star*, none were adopted without Isaacs' O.K. "What we wanted and he didn't like, we don't have," says one reporter. Indeed, democracy at the *Star* is modest compared with a number of papers in Europe, where editorial policy has sometimes been put to staff referendum. Among some *Star* journalists a suspicion lingers that participatory management is a gimmick to defuse employee resistance to Isaacs' otherwise autocratic rule. "Participatory management means having an input into management," concedes the burly (6 ft. 3 in., 234 lbs.) editor, whom subordinates have nicknamed "the Hulk." "It doesn't mean reporters making decisions. They're only paid \$460 a week, and that's not enough to make the kinds of decisions I have to make."

Although the *Star* can be frustratingly uneven, most readers surveyed by the paper have noticed the changes and like them. Circulation has slipped, partly because several thousand unprofitable subscribers in outlying areas were intentionally dropped last year. Inside the *Star* and *Tribune* building, the box score is encouraging: four *Star* reporters have applied for jobs at the more prestigious *Tribune*, but eight *Tribune* staffers have asked for transfers to the *Star*. "Even people who hate Isaacs think that he's a genius," says one who remained *Star*-side, Adds Senior Assistant Managing Editor Glenn Speidel, 54: "I wasn't comfortable with the changes at first, but now I'm convinced that's the way we have to go." ■

### Notes from the Underground

Alternative papers grow up

The "Food & Drink" supplement ran to 48 glossy pages, bubbling with four-color national liquor ads and articles on such pressing concerns as "Fighting the Gourmet Blues" and "A Consumer Guide to Cognac." An insert in the Sunday New York *Times*? A section in *Gourmet* magazine? No, just a little light reading from that old, radical, worker-owned collective in Boston, the *Real Paper*.

The *Real Paper* is no longer radical and no longer collective, and neither are most of the nation's other so-called alternative, or underground, newspapers. Ten years after Woodstock—and nearly a quarter-century after the *Village Voice* was launched as an alternative to New York City's conventional dailies—the alternative press has become so established that it is very nearly Establishment itself. Gone for the most part are the radical polemics, scatalogical prose and serendipitous amateur design that were staples of underground journalism. In their place are entertainment listings, movie and record reviews, consumer buying guides, el-

egant graphics, ads, ads, ads and more ads—for stereo equipment, records, furniture, sporting goods, liquor and other trophies of the good life.

Alternative newspapers have grown old with their original audience, the post-war baby-boom generation now moving into its 30s. At Denver's *Straight Creek Journal* and Seattle's *Weekly*, the average reader's age is 35. "Politics doesn't sell on the front page since Viet Nam," says Bruce Brugmann, 43, editor and publisher of the San Francisco *Bay Guardian* (circ. 35,000). "We put politics on the front page, but we have to highlight it with where to find the best sandwich."

Even before the quest for the best replaced muckraking as front-page material, it was difficult to define alternative newspapers. In size, they range from the *Village Voice* (circ. 170,000), to the

Straight Creek Journal (circ. 5,500). Most of the 40 papers (combined circulation 1.5 million) in the year-old National Association of Alternative Newsweeklies are tabloids serving urban areas. But at least one is a full-size broadsheet (*Willamette Week* in Portland, Ore.), and others are statewide (*Maine Times*), suburban (*Pacific Sun* in Marin County, Calif.), rural (*California's Mendocino Grapevine*) and even insular (*Maui Sun*).

The alternatives have always tried to cover the news in a more analytical way than the conventional press. Their editors see themselves as subjective, irreverent and at odds with the local power structure. The *Bay Guardian*, for instance, rails regularly at Pacific Gas and Electric, the two San Francisco dailies, the "Manhattanization" of the city's architecture, the Chamber of Commerce and anything else it considers high or mighty. The alternatives also like to feature unknown writers and publish long, idiosyncratic articles. The *Chicago Reader* once printed a 19,000-word piece on beekeeping.

Investigative reporting and imaginative writing linger on, but most major alternative weeklies are becoming bastions of bourgeois back chasing. Boston's weekly *Phoenix* (paid circulation 68,000, free distribution 50,000) averages 150 pages, promotes itself exuberantly on radio and television, and grossed \$4 million last year; its publisher drives a counterrevolutionary Rolls-Royce. The rival *Real Paper* (48,000 paid, 57,000 free) is owned by a former state legislator, a corporate lawyer, and a Rockefeller heir. Chicago's

*Reader* (free circ. 97,000) now regularly runs to more than 100 ad-rich pages a week, and grossed almost \$2 million in 1978. Ad revenues at the Minneapolis-St. Paul *Reader* (no relation) were up 410% in 1977 and 298% last year. Seattle's *Weekly* (circ. 15,000) won a contract to print the program for the visiting King Tut exhibit, and the Ithaca (N.Y.) *Times* and the local Chamber of Commerce collaborate to publish a calendar every summer. There is even an alternative chain: the Times/Advocate Newspapers, with papers serving western Massachusetts (circ. 85,000), New Haven and Hartford, Conn. (each 75,000), and Syracuse (40,000). Launched in 1973 with a \$3,000 investment, the group last year grossed \$3.25 million.

Alternative papers have become so respectable that some of their editors are beginning to feel uneasy. Says Mike Lenehan, 30, associate editor of the *Chicago Reader*: "As we've become more professional, we don't stoop so low—but we don't soar as often either."

At the National Association of Alternative Newsweeklies' annual convention last month at Boston's elegant Parker House, the non-stop chatter about special advertising sections and "upscale demographics" finally touched off a flurry of self-criticism. "I get this vision of [readers as] some sort of sausage, into which you jam all the consumer goods you can," said *Village Voice* columnist Alexander Cockburn. On the final afternoon of the three-day affair, the delegates rather self-consciously voted to insert "alternative" into the association's name. I.F. Stone, the archetype of maverick journalists, picked up on their discomfiture in his keynote speech that night: "I understand you have qualms about being called alternatives, and after looking at your papers, I must say you've got the most bland kind of alternative. You don't try to change the world, you just titillate it."

Most of the editors present thought Stone was overstating things a bit, but few doubted that alternatives had drifted dangerously far from their original purpose, that perhaps they were betting too heavily on special sections and entertainment guides and not enough on investigative reporting and all-round hell raising. "You have to create a product that no one else can duplicate," warned the *Bay Guardian's* Brugmann. "If you're sitting on your ass, thinking that you can make it on listings or a couple of entertainment articles, you're going to be out of business."



Georgina Brown in *Carmelina*

## Theater

### Fossil

CARMELINA

Lyrics by Alan Jay Lerner

Music by Burton Lane

Choreography by Peter Gennaro

Every so often, watching a Broadway show is like going on an archaeological dig. Unfortunately, these dramatic toms contain no King Tut treasures. They are stacked with dusty relics that a museum curator might choose to label *Homo theatralis*, extinct since some time in the early '30s.

Musicals date even faster than plays, and if one pilfers the formulas of the past, as the fashioners of *Carmelina* have, one has to be lucky enough to find a fossil audience to match. Based on the 1968 film *Buona Sera, Mrs. Campbell*, *Carmelina* tells the tale of Signora Carmelina Campbell, a Southern Italian beauty winningly played by Georgina Brown. During World War II, she made love to three G.I.s and, to one of them, bore a daughter now 17 and ascribed to a dead hero ingeniously named for a soup can. A postwar reunion of the U.S. liberators of the little town of San Marino makes the soup boil over.

An added ingredient is a local restaurateur, Vittorio Bruno (Cesare Siepi), who worships Carmelina and is "hunched by her as if he were the prime exhibit in an article called 'Italians Are Lousy Lovers.'" Opera Star Siepi has a voice of hurricane force, but he seems to have graduated from the formaldehyde school of acting. *Carmelina's* dances look like a jogger's nightmare. There are some songs that might bear rehearsing—*It's Time for a Love Song*, *One More Walk Around the Garden*, *I'm a Woman*—but in some other musical

—T.E.Nelson



September 4, 1969...  
Michael Mullen left home  
for Vietnam.

February 21, 1970...  
Michael's parents were  
told that he was dead.  
Killed by "friendly fire."

But Peg and Gene Mullen  
had to know the truth...  
how their son died, and why.

Their search brought them  
into conflict with their  
friends, the Iowa town  
they lived in, and  
ultimately their country.

What happened to Peg  
and Gene Mullen  
happened to America.

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## Medicine



Greta Garbo as the consumptive heroine with Robert Taylor in 1936 film *Camille*

### TB's Comeback

*Not gone but almost forgotten*

**T**he disease evokes images of pale, suffering poets like Keats and Shelley or wanly beautiful heroines like *La Bohème's* Mimi and *Camille* wasting away in the arms of their lovers. Indeed, during the 19th century, tuberculosis—or consumption, as it was then called—exact-ed a horrifying toll, up to 20% of the population in Western countries died of it before the age of 50. But by 1882, when the German bacteriologist Robert Koch demystified the disease by identifying the tiny rod-shaped tubercle bacillus that caused it, the tide was turning.

Thousands of TB patients sought out mountain air and were put on regimens of nutritious food. Chest X rays helped spot infected patches of lung. Finally, with the development of such drugs as streptomycin and isoniazid in the 1940s and 1950s, tuberculosis seemed on the way to being vanquished.

Not so. While many of the Magic Mountain sanatoriums have closed and the Christmas Seal drives have turned mostly to other causes, TB still thrives. In the U.S., nearly 3,000 Americans died of the disease in 1977. Each year about 30,000 new cases are reported nationwide; last year 21 states noted a rise in cases. Almost 3 million more cases occur in the rest of the world. Says one concerned pulmonary specialist, Dr. Lee B. Reichman of the New Jersey Medical School in Newark: "It's a classic case of what happens when we eradicate a disease but we don't eradicate it. We know everything about it, yet it's still there."

Tuberculosis strikes all segments of society, but hardest among the poor who live in crowded, unsanitary conditions and subsist on inadequate diets. While the annual rate is only about 14 cases per

100,000 among the population as a whole, in Harlem, for example, it climbs to about 64 per 100,000. Alcoholics and drug addicts are especially vulnerable because their immune systems may have been weakened. Found in the bodies of about 7% of the populace, the bug makes only a small proportion of them ill.

At an international conference on TB in Orlando, Fla., last month, doctors noted that many carriers of the disease have no outward symptoms. Others suffer from fatigue, weight loss, night sweats or intermittent low-grade fever, which can signify any number of disorders. Only when the patient develops TB's brassy cough does the disease become contagious. Fortunately, the chances of catching TB are low. One study showed that it took as long as six months of daily exposure to become infected.

Unlike their 19th century predecessors, today's doctors rarely see the disease; medical schools do not stress it. A 1977 study at Scott Air Force Base revealed that of 130 patients referred there for TB, 73 had been misdiagnosed or given inadequate therapy by their original physician.

In the 1950s and '60s, the U.S. conducted mass screening programs: hundreds of thousands of people were given skin tests and chest X rays at a cost of millions of dollars. Reichman, for one, believes that such a blunderbuss approach is not justified on either medical or economic grounds. Nor, he says, are sanatoriums, hospitals or clinics that treat only TB patients. Though most have been closed, they survive in several states and are extremely expensive to run. Until a few months ago, for example, the Mercer County Chest Clinic outside Trenton, N.J., was spending \$180,000 to care for about 100 TB patients a year. Reichman would rather have these people treated in doctors' offices or in outpatient clinics that also handle such common ailments as diabetes, hypertension and heart problems.

That is possible, he says, because treating TB is now relatively simple. Those who are at high risk, especially those recently exposed to the disease, may be put on isoniazid for a year as a preventive measure. If the disease develops, U.S. doctors now have eleven drugs to choose from, the most potent new one being rifampin. Within two weeks, most patients are no longer infectious, but must continue medication for at least nine months, sometimes up to two years, and get monthly checkups by their doctor or clinic. One major problem: keeping patients on this strict regimen after they feel well again. Sometimes doctors take to grandmotherly inducements. Reichman's clinic provides coffee and doughnuts. In Denver, where there are many alcoholics among TB patients, a clinic offers stronger stuff: bialky patients may be given a drink or two in hopes that they will return.

### Guinea Pigs?

*Surgery in the asylum*

**T**he allegations sounded like excerpts from the script of *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Lawyer Patrick Murphy, who filed a suit in Chicago last week, charged that between 25 and 100 patients in Illinois' Manteno Mental Health Center underwent "unauthorized and secret" experimental surgery in the 1950s and '60s at the University of Chicago's Billings Hospital. The surgery removed their adrenal glands, organs atop the kidneys, which produce cortisone and other hormones. The supervising surgeon, Dr. Charles B. Huggins, 77, winner of a Nobel Prize for his pioneering work on hormonal treatment of cancer.

A University of Chicago spokesman angrily branded Murphy's allegations "exaggerations and misstatements." In defense of Huggins and the university, he produced a research paper, published in 1958, that appeared to explain the surgery: it was performed seven years earlier with family consent on only six schizophrenics, two of whom also had cancer—one in the prostate gland, the other in the breasts.

According to the spokesman, the two cancer operations were clearly therapeutic. The other surgery, he explained, was based on a possible connection between hormonal function and schizophrenia.

Murphy, who as Cook County's public guardian is responsible for legally incompetent wards of the state, responded with further charges. At week's end, he quoted a psychiatrist's memo that said the center was "virtually a human dog lab." At Murphy's request, a judge issued an order barring destruction of any records that might shed light on the case. Huggins, for his part, left no doubt about what he thought of the suit: "It stinks."



Safe trailering



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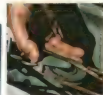
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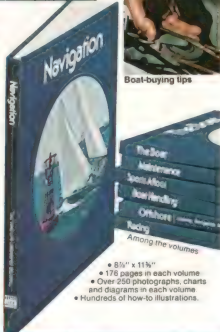
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## Law

### Habeas Corpses

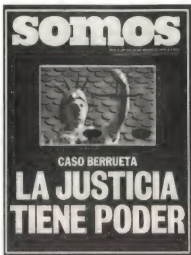
"Disappearing" in Argentina

The body of Guillermo Diaz Lestrem turned up like a ghostly flower in Buenos Aires' elegant Palermo Park late last fall. The cause of death was heart failure and fluid in the lungs; the corpse had bruises on the face and neck. Shortly before he vanished, Lestrem, a defense lawyer and former judge, had prepared a writ of habeas corpus—on his own behalf. He had discovered that unknown men were looking for him and feared that he would become yet another of Argentina's "desaparecidos."

To "disappear" in Argentina means to be taken away by men in mufti who claim to be members of the country's security forces. When the *desaparecido's* family applies for habeas corpus, the government often claims to know nothing, if it replies at all. With luck, the missing person reappears in jail. The death of Lestrem, who according to human rights reports had been arrested in 1976, tortured and then released by Argentina's military junta, is a mystery. He could have been killed by the military, surmised a Buenos Aires defense lawyer. Or by leftist guerrillas because he had told too much during his first captivity. "Here, you see," the lawyer explained, "if people disappear, their bodies never usually reappear in an identifiable way." Whoever killed him, Lestrem is a victim of what Argentina's military leaders have called "the dirty war" between the government and guerrillas, who by 1976 had reduced the country to virtual anarchy.

Due process was another victim of Argentina's dirty war. For political prisoners, the problem is usually not getting a fair trial but getting any trial at all. At least 4,500 Argentines have disappeared since the military took over three years ago, and an additional 2,000 have been admittedly held without formal charges by the government. Even trying to persuade the government to produce a *desaparecido* for trial can be dangerous. According to one lawyer, the police keep a list of lawyers who seek to get their clients out on habeas corpus, and if a name appears more than once or twice, it is sent to the government's security forces. The harsh results have prompted human rights activists to begin keeping lists of their own: a fortnight ago, a visiting delegation of prominent New York lawyers handed the government the names of 99 detained lawyers and 92 others who have simply vanished. Says one Western diplomat: "The right to counsel barely exists in Argentina. Most people are advised that having a lawyer is counterproductive."

When the military junta seized power in 1976, it purged the courts and took



Wishful headline: "Justice Takes Power"

Due process was a victim of "the dirty war."

away much of the judiciary's responsibility for so-called subversive cases. Political defendants lucky enough to get a trial often go before military tribunals in secrecy and with little chance of appeal. Still, there are signs that Argentina is sliding toward some kind of rule of law. After Oscar Smith, a labor leader suspected of guerrilla connections, disappeared in February 1977, human rights activists applied for habeas corpus and tacked on the names of 1,451 other *desaparecidos*. Last December the Supreme Court of Justice agreed that the absence of information about them amounted to a "veritable deprivation of due process" and gently urged President Jorge Videla to do something about it. In February Videla responded with "concern" and announced that "full and effective force of juridical order" was his goal, too. A more concrete step was taken by the court in the case of a naval officer who, for no good reason, threatened a civilian motorist on a public road. The military man was arrested and promptly sprung by a military delegation. But when the Supreme Court ordered his return, the military grudgingly obliged. JUSTICE TAKES POWER proclaimed the headline of the weekly magazine *Somos*, whose cover showed a picture of a wide-eyed justice with her balanced scales.

One reason why the government is at least trying to give the appearance of greater justice is that the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States arrives in Argentina next month. Two weeks ago, U.S. officials on instruction from Washington delivered a closed-door dressing down to Videla on his government's human rights performance. "I'm not expecting a very good report by the human rights commission on Argentina," a high U.S.

embassy official told TIME South American Correspondent George Russell. But the official feels that the military is becoming more willing to allow the courts to try political prisoners. The question is how many lawyers are now left who are willing to defend them.

### Hired Gun

Legal revenge in Kentucky

A night of drinking and arguing ended for Leonard Roberts and Robert Melton in a liquor-store parking lot outside the coal-mining town of Hazard, Ky., when Roberts pulled out his gun and fatally shot Melton. The incident was not unusual in the isolated, often violent hills of eastern Kentucky. Nor was the reaction of Melton's father Carl, 70. He wanted revenge, which is considered almost a family duty in a part of the world where blood feuds can last for generations. But instead of taking the old route of getting a gun and going outside the law to seek vengeance, Melton hired a lawyer. The attorney's job: to make sure the state put Roberts behind bars for as long as possible.

Known as "special prosecutors," private lawyers are widely used in Kentucky to assist state prosecutors, especially in murder cases. "There's a feeling in eastern Kentucky that if someone in your family is killed, you're not going to be shamed in the eyes of the rest of the community by not having your own attorney," says Charles Coy, a Richmond, Ky., lawyer who has been hired several times as a special prosecutor. The state prosecutors do not mind, since they are often hamstrung by a lack of resources. The commonwealth attorney for Perry County, where the Melton shooting took place a year and a half ago, has no investigators to interview witnesses or do any other legal legwork. The prosecutor must assent before a private lawyer can actually argue a criminal case in court, but some are willing just to make a statement of the case at the beginning of the trial and turn the rest over to the lawyer hired by the victim's family. Kentucky Attorney General Robert Stephens sees no legal or ethical barrier, but former U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi, now a law professor at the University of Chicago, has some doubts. He warns that the judge must be careful to see that the defendant is not getting railroaded.

Legal revenge is expensive: fees for special prosecutors in murder cases run from \$5,000 to \$10,000, and some lawyers speculate that Melton paid a private lawyer \$25,000. He denies it, but whatever he paid, he was not satisfied with the result, a ten-year prison term for Roberts for manslaughter. Says Melton: "He should've gotten more."



## Economy & Business

# Moving Toward Freer Trade

*The U.S. stands to be a major gainer from the Tokyo Round agreement*

**C**ustomers in two dozen countries will soon be spending less than they ordinarily would for a wide variety of imports, ranging from cheese to autos, and that will help slow inflation. U.S. export sales should pick up for industries as diverse as hospital equipment, chemicals and data processing, creating more jobs. American farmers should get easier access for their goods abroad, help-

ed \$1.3 trillion last year, the rate of growth slowed, causing concern that the global economy would stagnate. Until about two years ago, when Robert Strauss arrived on the scene as the special U.S. representative, the trade talks were going nowhere. Strauss's closeness to President Carter gave him entrée to top foreign leaders, and he used it, with McDonald's help, to get the negotiations back on track.

key parts, table grapes and canned fruit.

As usual, Japan was the most intransigent bargainer. It put up so many roadblocks that the Europeans were forced to withdraw trucks and electronic items from the list of goods that they had offered for concessions to everyone. Charged the European Community's Sir Roy Denman, "A massive Japanese [trade] surplus is difficult to accept if at the same time the Japanese market is not an open one and the Japanese exporters, like soldiers from a fortress, create havoc."

The major gain is a series of new international codes aimed at the worst of some 800 nontariff barriers. The codes seek to:

- ▶ Eliminate government subsidies for exports of manufactured goods, though farm exports still can be subsidized.
- ▶ Sweep away phony technical standards for imports, used primarily to keep foreign goods out.
- ▶ End the dozens of arbitrary methods that governments use to puff up the value of imports to calculate customs duties, thus pricing the goods out of their domestic markets.
- ▶ Open up government purchasing to international competitive bidding. Despite the new code, Japan has refused so far to allow outsiders to bid for some of its most lucrative government business. That action has incensed the U.S., as Strauss made clear in talks last week with Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda.

All the participating governments must ratify the agreements. The package is expected to slide through Congress, probably in September, in part because the legislators committed themselves to voting only yes or no on the entire package, with no amendments. Strauss has put together a strong coalition of supporters and appeased the most powerful enemies of the agreement. Opposition to reduced tariffs by textile and garment makers, for example, has been muffled by a promise of tighter enforcement of existing import quotas, as well as Government grants to boost productivity.

The agreement comes at a time when the U.S. is poised for an export surge because the depreciated dollar makes American goods bargains in the world. After three years of almost no real growth, exports in 1978 jumped 18.5%, to \$143.6 billion. More sales will be needed to help close the gap between imports and exports that last year totaled \$28.5 billion. So now it is up to U.S. businessmen to take advantage of the lower barriers—and sell. ■



Robert Strauss (right) tries some Texas sweet talk on Japan's Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda

ing to narrow the huge U.S. trade deficit.

These will be some of the benefits of the so-called Tokyo Round of trade talks. After 5½ years of agonizing and often angry horse trading, representatives of the industrial nations last week put their initials of endorsement to a complicated trade agreement aimed at liberalizing global commerce and beating back the forces of protectionism.

Almost all the developing nations at first refused to initial the accord, complaining that it would benefit them less than it would the industrial world. Unless they do sign, the liberalizations will not apply to them. Still the other delegates were relieved and exhilarated. Said Alonzo McDonald, who patiently handled the day-to-day negotiations for the U.S.: "The agreement is the most comprehensive and significant result produced by any trade negotiations up to this time."

Some elation was justified. Since the talks began in Japan in 1973, explosive oil prices and recession have plagued many countries, and they have sought to protect their industries by raising all kinds of nontariff hurdles. Though world trade continued to expand, reaching an estimat-



Key U.S. Negotiator Alonzo McDonald

*Lower prices and new opportunities to sell.*

The agreement calls for the industrial nations to cut tariffs on thousands of imports by an average of 33% over the next eight years. Strauss also managed to win lower barriers on a large number of U.S. farm exports, including tur-



## The Fight to Tax Big Oil

Carter's decontrol and windfall plans stir a storm in Congress

**A**s gasoline nudged toward \$1 per gal., and growing numbers of service stations around the country rationed sales to \$5 or less per customer, Congress began battling over Jimmy Carter's plan to raise fuel prices still higher. Already the strategy is drawing heavy fire from left and right for being everything from a giveaway to Big Oil to a bureaucratic interference with private business to a dangerous new fuel for inflation.

The sharpest attacks are against the package's two most important parts. They are to phase out domestic oil price controls beginning in June, and to bring in "windfall profits" tax. Scrapping controls will allow U.S. oil prices, which average about \$9.45 per bbl., to rise during the next two years to the cartel-set world level, which already stands at a minimum of \$14.55 and is certain to climb still higher. The oil companies would get an extra \$6.5 billion in earnings annually from decontrol, but about half of the money would be taxed away. The Government would use much of the tax revenues to help industry shoulder the daunting costs of projects aimed at extracting oil from shale rock and coal, and to bankroll substantially increased research into solar energy.

Many legislators have urged Carter to come up with just that sort of program all along, but now they seem ready to condemn him for doing so. Senators and Congressmen from New England, where home heating oil prices in some cases have jumped by 25% since last autumn, complain that decontrol will just make matters worse. Says Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy of Carter's program: "It's a bad economic policy, it's bad energy policy, and it's bad for the country." Legislators from Texas, Oklahoma and other petrobelt states argue that Carter's tax is

unnecessary and that oil companies would spend the profits of decontrol on the search for more petroleum anyway.

Some members of Congress have done an almost total about-face. Until a few weeks ago, Democrat Henry Jackson of Washington, chairman of the Senate Energy Committee and Carter's principal Senate ally on energy, supported phased decontrol. But a trip back home to the Northwest changed his mind, as voters howled about rising fuel prices. Last week Jackson joined with Kennedy and Ohio Democrat Howard Metzenbaum, one of the Administration's bitterest foes in previous energy fights, in cosponsoring a bill to overrule Carter and extend price controls for two years. With less than five weeks remaining before Congress's Memorial Day break, the bill, which requires a majority vote in both the House and Senate, stands little chance of passage.

**T**hough the Administration optimistically asserts that decontrol will add less than .2% annually to the rise in consumer prices, the impact could in fact be much more severe. No one really knows to what extent inflation will be aggravated by potentially limitless price rises in a commodity so basic to the economy as petroleum, yet the nation has no real alternative to freeing up the price of crude. It seems pointless for Washington to preach to the world about the need to conserve while at the same time maintaining artificially low prices that encourage waste.

Price controls also discourage American companies from drilling for crude in the U.S., and that inevitably boosts the nation's alarming dependence on imports.

which now account for nearly 50% of the 19 million bbl. of crude that the U.S. uses each day.

Since decontrol appears inevitable, the real scrap will be over Carter's tax proposal. Not only must both the House Ways and Means Committee and the generally pro-industry Senate Finance Committee agree on its details, but after that, the full House and Senate must also vote on the tax. Says a key member of the Senate Energy Committee, Louisiana Democrat J. Bennett Johnston: "There are almost as many views of what is a fair tax and what its proper uses would be as there are members of Congress."

Oilmen insist that all the profits of decontrol, not just some of them, are urgently needed to finance the search for crude. Asks Hugh Liedtke, chairman of Pennzoil Co.: "Are we to raise more tax money or raise more oil?" But some of the biggest firms are swinging around to an emotional accommodation with the idea of a tax, so long as it is phased out in a couple of years. What they want is a temporary levy with a so-called plowback provision. Under it, companies would be able to reduce their windfall profits taxes each year by stepping up expenditures on increased production. Smaller oil companies and wildcaters are also joining the battle against the windfall profits tax, but plan to do their own lobbying. Explains Jack Allen, president of the 5,000-member Independent Petroleum Association of America: "We don't want to be tarred with the same brush as the oil majors."

Congress will find it difficult to avoid the passage of some sort of tax. Oil industry profits for the first three months of 1979 will soon be released, and they will show a surge of perhaps as much as 40%. largely because the OPEC cartel's price rises have caused higher prices in the U.S. too. In addition, companies benefit because their stockpiled inventories of crude, bought at lower prices, also rise in value. That alone will be enough to anger a public already critical of the oil industry, and the continuing rise in gasoline and other fuel costs will only fan the resentments.

Carter's populist tub thumping is also helping to stir up hostility to oil companies. Two days after his nationally televised energy message, with its harsh attack on the oil industry, the President defended his decontrol program before a Democratic fund-raising dinner by saying, "I will not allow this painful but necessary step to become an excuse for a massive rip-off of the American people by American oil companies. They are going to be all over Capitol Hill like a chicken on a June bug. They say they have more influence on Congress than the American people have. I say, let's prove them wrong." Ultimately, oilmen may find it easier to live with a tax that they do not want than a free-breathing President and a furious public.

# An Oil Crisis: True or False?

*Experts answer almost everything you ever wanted to know about energy*

Oil prices are up and supplies are down, but people the world over are confused and skeptical about whether an energy crisis exists. If the crunch is for real, they wonder how bad it is, who caused it, where it is leading, and what should be done to cope with it. For the answers, TIME interviewed at length five leading independent oil experts. They are: Morris Adelman, 62, professor of economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Walter Levy, 68, the dean of petroleum consultants and adviser to governments and oil companies; John Lichtblau, 57, head of the private Petroleum Industry Research Foundation; Arnold Safer, 42, an economist of Irving Trust Co.; John Sawhill, 42, president of New York University and former Federal Energy Administrator. Excerpts from the interviews:

### Is there a crisis?

**LEVY:** The Iranian revolution triggered a real crisis. The protests against corruption and excessive development will encourage other OPEC countries to slow oil production. There is nothing in sight that would lead to very substantial increases in oil supplies in the immediate or even medium-term future.

**ADELMAN:** There is no genuine supply crisis. There was an accident, Iran. We are traveling a bumpy road, and will continue to do so as long as OPEC is in charge. There is nothing we can do to make the cartel produce more. We have handed control of world oil over to a small, noncompetitive and irresponsible group.

**SAWHILL:** I prefer to call it not a crisis, but a problem, arising from our growing dependence for oil on a politically unstable part of the world. We have failed to curtail imports, and in the short term we are completely at the mercy of the Middle East oil suppliers.

**SAFER:** There are some crude shortages, but there is no crisis of physical supply. In the longer run, there is no shortage in terms of proven reserves or potentially discoverable oil.

**LICHTBLAU:** We are not going to run out of oil, but we may run out of suppliers who are willing to give us more, even if it is available. Oil can be denied either for political reasons or because a country simply has no economic interest in increasing production. That is the danger.

### Why are oil prices rising, and what will be the consequences of these increases?

**LEVY:** A perceived shortage of only 2% or 3% may result in price increases of

the order of 20%, 30%, 40%, even before supplies actually run short. So far this year, OPEC has increased prices by about 25%. As a result, the importing world will have to spend about \$35 billion a year more for the same quantity of oil.

**SAFER:** The problem is not a few cents more for gasoline. The higher cost of oil will drain an additional \$35 billion a year from the world's purchasing power, and only about half of this will be recycled back in increased OPEC imports. Economic policy is virtually helpless confronting the simultaneous inflation and recessionary impact of this phenomenon.

### In the short term, what can the world do to cope?

**ADELMAN:** There is not a damn thing we can do. We have no carrots and no sticks. The President should publicly admit that we are in the hands of a group of people, the OPEC cartel, who are at the moment wholly beyond our control.

**LICHTBLAU:** We should use our surplus of natural gas to fuel industrial plants and utilities. Coal-powered electricity plants in the Midwest could export surplus electricity to the East and replace imported oil. One of our greatest errors was not to build up our strategic oil reserves. Had we done so, the Iranian cutback would have had less of an impact. We should move full speed ahead with the reserve plan now because there will be another crisis some time down the road.

**SAWHILL:** We do not have the luxury of shifting to alternative energy sources immediately, so we have to reduce imports. Mandatory standards must be set for the heating and cooling of commercial buildings; we ought to regulate outdoor advertising; and we should enforce the 55 m.p.h. speed limit much more aggressively.

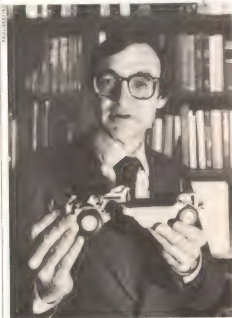
### What could be longer-term solutions?

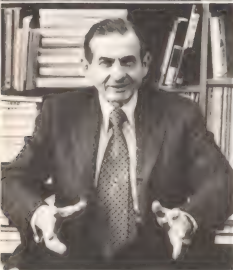
**SAFER:** We must stop allowing some oil companies to deduct from their U.S. income taxes the royalties they pay to OPEC. The companies would then have greater incentive to explore for oil in non-OPEC nations. We should emulate Japan and Germany and set up a program partially funded by the Government to finance the search for new oil finds. Finally, we should impose an import quota on OPEC oil and create a North American free trade zone for energy to encourage deliveries from Mexico and Canada.

**SAWHILL:** We will never have any influence on OPEC until we develop a positive energy policy and a new generation of energy technology to replace oil. We

should create a hemisphere energy policy that provides a tariff on oil imports but gives preferred access into the U.S. for Canadian and Mexican supplies.

**LEVY:** There is fundamentally no effective solution that could be achieved by any one country acting on its own. The importing countries are afraid to take a uniform position—this is the great failure. Led by the U.S., the importing nations as a group should refuse to admit any oil priced at a surcharge (that is, above the OPEC base price of \$14.55 a bbl.). Few traders would then risk paying high prices for oil for which there is an uncertain market.





Specialists assess the crunch.  
Clockwise from lower left: Arnold Safer,  
John Sawhill, John Lichtblau, Walter Levy,  
Morris Adelman (center)

#### How can conservation be encouraged?

**SAWHILL:** Conservation is the one initiative that the American people can accept, understand and do something about. Low prices for oil have sent the wrong signals to people. Higher prices will convince people that we have a problem.

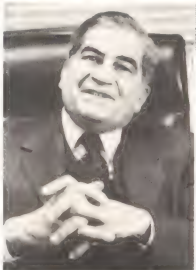
**ADELMAN:** If the Administration wants to be taken seriously, it must tax the energy that it wants saved. It is a disservice to control prices because you feed them hope to consumers. When prices go up, people will use less. Seven cents more for gasoline will not make much difference, but the knowledge that prices are going to keep rising will change habits.

#### What will be accomplished by price decontrol?

**LICHTBLAU:** When you decontrol and raise the price of oil, less will be consumed. But whether more oil will be found is not clear. There will be some additional production, and more money will be spent to get secondary and tertiary recovery from older wells.

**ADELMAN:** Companies will get a powerful incentive to search for new oil and recover old oil. But it makes no sense to tie windfall profits to these efforts: the concern over excessive windfall profits is childish. The most important thing is to reassure oilmen that if they put money in the ground now, they will get the market price for the oil they recover in two or three years' time.

**SAWHILL:** The important thing is to get prices up to provide the public with an economic incentive to use energy more efficiently and to provide industry with an incentive to look for new oil finds and



develop expensive alternative sources, like liquefaction and gasification of coal. All the needed research, along with the expanding development of solar energy and other alternatives, could be supported by a new tax on gasoline.

**LEVY:** Decontrol will get rid of the most fantastic bureaucratic mess and give companies a greater incentive to search for oil. But this does not necessarily mean we will find more. Despite a very much larger effort in recent years to find oil, we just haven't found it. Incentives, or even disincentives, might be introduced to steer more investment by the oil companies into energy development. The important thing is that the windfall profits be used to cope with the shortage.

#### How can the importing countries loosen OPEC's grip?

**ADELMAN:** It is meaningless to talk of breaking the cartel because if it disap-

peared tomorrow, it would be reconstituted the day after. But the U.S. could and should use its immense buying power to erode OPEC's power to raise prices. The objective would be to take money away from OPEC treasuries and put it in ours. The only effective counteraction that OPEC could take would be to cut off oil supplies altogether. If they did that we could confiscate their assets and send a couple of destroyers to blockade food deliveries. So if they don't want to send oil, they don't have to eat. If push came to shove, we—the U.S.—would win.

**LEVY:** OPEC is not a normal cartel, and a confrontation is unlikely to work. The U.S. can stand to lose 8 million bbl of OPEC oil a day for only a very short time, but OPEC could do without the revenues from that oil for several months.

#### What are the most promising alternatives to oil?

**SAFER:** My favorite is natural gas; we have a short-term extra supply and good prospects for finding more. The myriad restrictions on mining, transporting and burning coal do not make that a here-and-now prospect. Nuclear, despite the recent Three Mile Island accident, is safe and more efficient.

**LEVY:** Nuclear is the key. We plan to expand the number of reactors, and nothing must prevent this. The effort of developing new energy sources should remain in the hands of companies, but federal funding should be used to promote projects whose rewards are probably remote, and the costs exceed industry's capabilities, like the direct conversion of solar energy into electricity.

**LICHTBLAU:** Natural gas has a lot of potential at new, higher prices. There is a lot to be found; we have not really looked for it the same way as for oil because earlier there was no market and later prices were set so low that there was no incentive. We still have to sort out nuclear. It is likely that a number of plants now operating will have to be shut down for a period, and new reactors will be delayed.

**SAWHILL:** We need a major R and D effort to develop new natural gas supplies from conventional as well as non-conventional sources like coal-bed methane and tidal sands. The future for nuclear energy now looks bleak, and I don't think we will return to a coal-based economy. We are going to have to shift to a new base of energy technologies, such as solar energy, nonconventional gas and perhaps shale oil or liquefied coal.

**ADELMAN:** If we had not been in such a rush, the reactor accident might have been avoided, but nuclear is now back to the drawing boards. We need less regulation and more development of low-sulfur coal. Solar will grow only slowly, but that is where a lot of R and D money ought to be put. Energy R and D spending won't help solve anything for ten years, but something may come in big and leave us in a better position at the end of the decade.



## Economy & Business

### Meat Bites Back

*With prices up, cattlemen may begin to replenish their herds*

In a fit of lunar lunacy, the cow that jumped over the moon has gone into orbit. During this year's first three months, average prices for beef cuts are up 9%, to \$2.23 per lb., and are expected to climb a further 25% by year's end. Because high prices at meat counters are such an immediate indicator of inflation's bite, consumers are clamoring for Washington to do something to bring them down.

Yet Agriculture Department officials argue persuasively that methods that have been used before—price controls, consumer boycotts and increased import quotas—would only hurt now. Reason: today's higher prices are the best way to encourage cattle producers to replenish the herds that they have depleted over the past four years, when beef prices were low.

The current import quota of 1.5 billion lbs. annually, or 5.5% of the total beef consumed in the U.S., is about as high as it can go. Because of beef shortages elsewhere in an increasingly affluent and meat-eating world, only Australia and New Zealand can increase their import allotments. Those two could be lifted by 50 million lbs., to a total barely enough to meet one one-thousandth of U.S. beef needs. Local consumer boycotts, like New York City's "Beefless Wednesday" campaign, signal cattlemen that demand for beef is dropping and that further herd cutbacks are in order.

The White House has completely ruled out a beef price freeze. Little wonder. It was President Nixon's desperation move to clamp controls on beef prices in 1973 that caused much of today's shortages and high prices. Though cattle producers' prices were frozen, their overhead costs continued to rise. Many could not afford to feed their animals and had to sell off large numbers just to stay solvent. As more beef came onto the market, prices briefly fell. But the size of the nation's herds also plummeted from 132 million cattle in 1975 to the present 110 million—and prices rebounded with a vengeance.

Only in the past few months have they risen high enough for producers to consider seriously holding more cattle back from the market for breeding. Says Lauren Carlson, president of the National Cattlemen's Association: "We are at the critical point right now. Every cattleman is going to be making decisions in the coming weeks that will affect prices for a long time." The decision should be made easier because futures prices for cattle have jumped 50% in the past year

and reached new records—a sign that prices will go higher in the months ahead. Thus it would pay the cattleman to breed his herds instead of selling them now.

Once a cattleman chooses to keep rather than sell his heifers, the long, three-year breeding cycle begins. A heifer born this spring cannot be bred for another 15 months. This is followed by a nine-month gestation period. Since most producers like to breed their cows twice before sending them to market, this spring's newborn calf will not be ready for slaughter until early 1982. Only then are prices likely to ease. Says Alfred Kahn, the White House inflation adviser: "While ranchers are rebuilding their herds, prices will probably stay well above 1978 levels for the next two or three years." In the meantime, what can carnivorous consumers do to keep food bills down? Agriculture Department experts advise buying more pork and poultry. Supplies of both are expected to be up 20% over last year, so their prices should drop accordingly. In short, let them eat pork.



### Wages of Clout

*Teamsters crack guidelines*

The big long-distance rigs were barreling along U.S. highways last week in near normal numbers. The powerful Teamsters union and the trucking industry had agreed on a new master contract, ending a ten-day strike and lockout that drastically curtailed transportation of goods and threatened many manufacturing industries. In all, the union and the industry estimate that the contract will give 270,000 drivers and warehouse workers an increase of more than 30% in wages and fringe benefits over three years. That is well above the Carter Administration's wage-guideline limit of 7% a year. But the Council on Wage and Price Stability, by tortuously twisting the guideline rules, pronounced the agreement acceptable. Chief Inflation Fighter Alfred Kahn admitted that the Administration's official position verges on fantasy. Said he: "You can say with honesty that there has been bending of the standards."

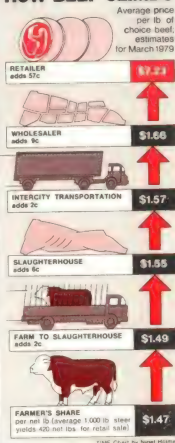
Union members, who had earned about \$9.75 an hour, will collect 80¢ more in the first year and 35¢ in each of the next two years, bringing them up to \$11.25 per hour in 1981. They will also get an additional \$1.09 for benefits, like health insurance. Assuming an average inflation rate of 6% over the next three years, as the Administration optimistically does, the cost of living payment would add another 83¢ and bring the total wage and benefit increase for the contract to \$3.42 an hour.

Of this amount, 57¢ is not included in the guideline calculations because of various exemptions granted by the Administration. For example, since retirees have no voice in the ratification and are technically not part of the bargaining, the White House agreed to exclude the cost of increasing their pension benefits. If these exemptions were included, the wage-and-benefit boost would come to 27%.

On top of that, 22¢ in living-cost payments will be deferred until the three-year contract expires and thus will not be counted. If inflation over the next three years averages not 6% but 8.5%, as the companies and union predict, the increased cost of living payments will swell the settlement to 31.5%. The truckers quickly got permission from the Interstate Commerce Commission to raise freight rates by up to 5.7%, and the industry will seek additional increases.

Despite Administration efforts to picture the contract as a victory for restraint, the Teamsters' fat settlement could whet the appetite of other unions in this year of heavy labor bargaining. The United Rubber Workers' contracts expire this weekend, and says Union President Peter Bommarito: "Our settlement will have to go over the guidelines."

### HOW BEEF CLIMBS



TIME Chart by Nigel Holmes



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## Economy & Business



The downbeat author and his favorite work

### Profit of Doom

*Ruff huffs and puffs*

Whatever else happened to Cassandra, there is no record of her going broke, and that fate does not seem to be in store for the latter-day doomsayers either. With their books and pricey newsletters, their investment advisory services and conferences at celebrated watering holes, the professional pessimists are mining hard cash out of their predictions of catastrophe.

One of the fastest-rising practitioners of the art is Howard Ruff, 48, a smiling, pleasant fellow who works out of San Ramon, Calif. He is the author of *How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years* (Times Books, \$8.95), a guide for survival in "the next recession, which will happen some time shortly after the publication of this book," as it states on page 15. Says Ruff, whose tremulous text has gone into its fourth printing and is in fourth place on TIME's nonfiction bestseller list: "There is cynicism about Government and institutions and an immense searching for someone who looks like he knows where he is going."

Where Ruff is going would probably be to the banks, except that he does not believe in them. His three-year-old bi-weekly newsletter, *Ruff Times*, has 80,000 subscribers who pay \$125 apiece for 15 months of advice. His second annual convention on financial survival last February drew 5,200 fans to Anaheim, Calif. Ruff usually commands \$3,000 an appearance on the Chicken Little lecture circuit, and his half-hour syndicated TV talk show, *Ruff House*, is carried by 48 stations.

His message is clear: "With inflation, we have in effect been raped by Government. Federal borrowing is the perversity

that did it, and inflation is the weapon of coercion." Inflation, he warns, will get totally out of control and lead to an economic smashup. "The juggernaut is headed for the precipice," he declares in his book. When it reaches the brink, he says, the banks will collapse. Social Security will be worthless, the machinery of Government will break down, and the cities will become chaotic.

Because paper currency will be valueless, Ruff argues, assets should be transferred into hard goods, such as gold and silver coins, that could be used for currency. He also favors small-town real estate, on the theory that the collapse of large cities would accelerate the flight of middle-class and prosperous whites from urban areas. Investors should start stockpiling a year's supply of food to get them through the first calamitous period, along with spare auto parts and standard ammunition; the latter can be used for both barter and self-protection.

Ruff, a devout Mormon and father of nine children, comes by his grim views after a checkered career as a college dropout, singer, actor, stockbroker, owner of a speed-reading franchise, natural vitamin distributor and real estate investment teacher. As he concedes, "Some people say that I couldn't succeed at anything, so I became a prophet of doom." A decade ago, he was \$250,000 in debt after his speed-reading schools failed and he had to declare personal bankruptcy. Today he estimates his net worth at \$600,000 and reports that he has paid off all but three of his creditors. Says Ruff: "This nation is ripe to be manipulated by a powerful personality. I am appalled at the ease with which I am acquiring a following."

### Woolworth Woo

*Bidding for the five and ten*

With acquisition in mind, a Toronto investment management company that has \$380 million in cash from the sale of a Brazilian utility, found its billion dollar baby in a 5 and 10¢ store. The company, Brascan, Ltd., announced last week that it was offering \$1.1 billion for F.W. Woolworth Co., one of the largest cash takeover bids ever.

Though the offer would come to \$35 a share for stock that had been selling in the \$23 to \$26 range, Woolworth angrily rejected it. Chairman Edward Gibbons called the bid "grossly inadequate" and said that it raised "moral and ethical questions of the most serious nature." Woolworth has brushed up its stodgy image by posting record sales of \$6.1 billion and earnings of \$130 million in the last fiscal year, and it is roughly four times larger than Brascan. To help finance the takeover, Brascan would have to borrow \$700 million from the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, which by no small coincidence is also Woolworth's largest lending

bank worldwide. In a suit to block the bid, Woolworth charged that Canadian Imperial would never lend such a sum to a company of Brascan's size unless the bank had confidential information about Woolworth's bright future prospects and was sharing the inside dope with Brascan.

The minnow may wind up choking on the whale. In fact, Brascan may well be making its brassy bid in order to become bigger and thus harder to be swallowed up itself by a hostile outsider. Cash-rich firms like Brascan are commonly candidates for acquisition by some larger company that after taking over uses all that cash to finance the deal. Almost the same moment that Brascan revealed its bid for Woolworth, Canada's Edper Equities, an investment company that is controlled by Edward and Peter Bronfman, cousins of the Seagram whisky chiefs, said that it wanted to increase its stake in Brascan from 5% to 50%. But then Brascan announced its new adventure, and an Edper spokesman said that his company's offer would be put off "until the Woolworth deal falls through."

### Home Free

*From courtroom to boardroom*



Robert Rowan



William Grace

Two fellows who just missed getting jobs making license plates will soon be back behind the wheel of the world's largest truck and trailer producer, Robert D. Rowan, 57, former president and chief executive of Detroit's Fruehauf Corp., and William E. Grace, 70, the former chairman, were convicted in 1975 of defrauding the Government of \$12.3 million in excise taxes. Though both are still on probation, next month Rowan will return to his \$440,000-a-year job and Grace will become chairman of Fruehauf's executive committee.

A U.S. federal court in Detroit had ruled that from 1956 to 1965 Rowan and Grace overstated the company's excise tax credits and understated revenues. The men were originally sentenced to six months in prison, but later got reduced penalties. They were placed on two years' probation and ordered to do full-time community service work until early May. Last week the Fruehauf board voted that when those terms are up the two officers, who have reputations as big profitmakers, may return to the company from their unpaid leaves.

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*Peter Accetta*

Peter Accetta  
New York City, New York



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## Cinema

### Stolen Kisses

#### LOVE ON THE RUN

Directed by François Truffaut  
Screenplay by François Truffaut,  
Marie-France Pisier, Jean Aurel and  
Suzanne Schiffman

**T**he happy news about *Love on the Run*, François Truffaut's fifth autobiographical Antoine Doinel movie, is that Antoine still refuses to grow up. Though the director's alter ego has come far since he first appeared 20 years ago in *The 400 Blows*, he remains a hopelessly restless, love-hungry kid. Antoine will badger, beg and lie to win a woman's affection, only to discover over and over that his hunger is not satiated by each new conquest. As a pal tells him this time, "All you care about is boy meets girl; from there, it's all downhill."

Antoine may be a child, but there is nothing childish about the films in which he appears. Through this character, Truffaut has found the perfect means for exploring some profound dilemmas of the heart. In Antoine's restlessness the director sees love's unpredictability, its evanescence, its incompatibility with the rude dullness of life. Truffaut believes

true romance can last only as long as a fleeting, stolen kiss, but, even so, he is not a weary pessimist. Each time Antoine (the ever boyish Jean-Pierre L aud) picks himself up off the floor for another doomed fling, it is a victory of the

spirit. The best Doinel movies, *The 400 Blows* and *Stolen Kisses* (1968), are among the most hilarious and disturbing film comedies ever to chart the vicissitudes of human passion.

*Love on the Run* is not among the best, but it has its moments. Truffaut picks up Antoine, now a novelist, on the eve of his divorce from Christine (Claude Jade), whom he courted in *Stolen Kisses* and married in *Bed and Board* (1970). Antoine is already in hot pursuit of new prey. As usual, nothing in the film turns out as first expected. By the time it is over, Truffaut has capably shifted the audience's perspective on all his characters. A couple who appear to be lovers turn out to be siblings. Antoine's plot for a new novel turns out to be a major clue to his recent behavior. A nemesis from *The 400 Blows* turns up to help Antoine understand his bitter relationship with his now dead mother.

This is classic Truffaut technique, but despite uniformly vivid performances, the film never attains its promised emotional complexity. The major difficulty is the director's determination to turn *Love on the Run* into a retrospective of the entire Doinel cycle. Not only do old players reappear, including Marie-France Pisier of *Love at 20* (1962), but so do clips from the



Jean-Pierre L aud in *Love on the Run*  
In hot pursuit of new prey.

## Savvy Americans are leaving the crowds behind...



other films. It may be a laudably ambitious notion to refract the past through the present in such purely cinematic terms, but there is too much material to be digested in one movie. Too often Truffaut's flashbacks are hit-or-miss in jokes; while he shows us dozens of pieces, old and new, of the Antoine puzzle, he does not fit them together to form a fresh and exciting self-portrait. Some of the clips are brought into fascinating juxtaposition (or so Truffaut fans will find), but others are far less poignant in this film than they were in their original contexts. The result is unsatisfying and a bit dispiriting. Though Antoine Doinel maintains the headstrong velocity of youth, François Truffaut is beginning to show some signs of sedentary middle age.

—Frank Rich

## Vanishing Point

PICNIC AT HANGING ROCK

Directed by Peter Weir  
Screenplay by Cliff Green

As a special treat, the young ladies of Appleyard College (it is really just a finishing school for adolescents) are to be taken on an educational outing to the base of Hanging Rock, a massive formation. The precise pedagogic function of this venture is unclear—something about appreciating more fully the depths of geological time, perhaps the mystery of Hang-



Anne Lambert in *Picnic*

In the clutches of repression.

ing Rock's origins in violent tectonic chaos.

About this the girls are quite unconcerned. The trip represents a day away from the stultifying routine that has turned them into twittering caged birds. Even as they leave for their picnic, they are instructed not to remove their white gloves until they have safely passed through a neighboring town. There will of course be no question of disencumber-

ing themselves from all their heavy corsetry. The time is 1900, and the place is provincial Australia; the most repressive tenets of the Victorian behavioral code, especially regarding sexuality, are rigidly enforced.

The brooding rock exerts a primitive magnetic force on some of the girls. Four, led by the lovely Miranda (Anne Lambert), leave the group to explore it more closely. One, chubby and asexual, turns back, but the other three press on. Two of them (along with a teacher answering some mysterious impulse to join them) are never seen again. One girl is rescued some days later but never speaks about what may or may not have happened on Hanging Rock. Nor does the film, based on a thriller by Joan Lindsay, offer any definite explanation. It does explore the rational efforts to solve the mystery (two young men who were near by seem likely suspects at first), and it examines how the tragedy affects the various interested parties in the aftermath.

It could be objected that this failure to come up with a realistic denouement is a fault, but it is one that the film shares with works like *L'Avventura* and *Blow-Up*, whose director, Michelangelo Antonioni, has obviously had an influence on Peter Weir. As in the master's work, the criminal, if there is one, is society. It does not matter to Weir whether there was a sexual criminal lurking up there among the rocks, awaiting these young women

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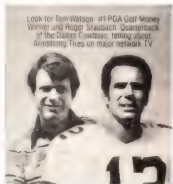
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## Cinema

who are easy prey, or if their own erotic repression led to some self-destructive hysterical act. The point is that the repression existed, and that it was not created by its victims.

There is something else Weir wants to say—that in society, a sense of order is a very fragile thing. If people do not allow for the inexplicable, then they will collapse of shock when chance makes its inevitable appearance. That is what happens to Mrs. Appleyard, the school's headmistress (Rachel Roberts), and to the little academic world she has created, when the full import of the picnic strikes her. The suicide of a girl who had a crush on one of the victims is the final blow.

This horrific tale is told with marvelous shadowy indirection and delicate lyricism. It is full of enigmatic silences, which create a nice, ironic tension between the film's genteel manner and its really quite ferocious theme. It may be seen as a mature exercise in style by a young director, if for no other reason. In addition, it is the centerpiece, so far, of the revitalized Australian film industry and the first assured work by a director who could gain an international reputation.

—Richard Schickel

## In Stitches

### THE PROMISE

Directed by Gilbert Cates

Screenplay by Garry Michael White

Here is yet another silly Hollywood soap opera about a damaged heroine. In this variation on the theme, pert young Nancy (Kathleen Quinlan) goes through the windshield of a car headfirst on her way to marry earnest young Michael (Stephen Collins). The prognosis is not good. Nancy requires 90 stitches, and, as her doctor points out, "there's not an awful lot left under those stitches." Is there a plastic surgeon in the house?

Well, lo and behold, there is. Unfortunately, he costs \$100,000, and the heroine apparently doesn't have Blue Cross. Enter Michael's wicked witch of a wealthy mother (Beatrice Straight), wearing more eyelashes than all the Gabors combined. Mom doesn't like Nancy because Nancy's Dad, long deceased, was once an armed robber. But Mom will fork over the hundred grand if Nancy agrees to stay away from Michael forever. The pact is sealed, and Nancy gets some new flesh to go with her stitches. With the help of a shrink, she even manages to keep her head while losing her face. That would be that, but ... Enter "the promise." Earlier in the film, Michael had given Nancy a vow: "I promise I'll never say goodbye to you." Now how can Michael never say goodbye to Nancy if he can't even find her to say hello? Intrepid moviegoers will have to experience the startling resolution of this dilemma for themselves.

—F.R.

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**Inflation hurts everyone: rich and poor, big business and small, wage earners and, most dramatically, retirees and other people living on fixed incomes.** The real value of everyone's income declines at exactly the same rate, whether it's the paychecks of our employees or the dividends we pay to stockholders or the checks received by people on pensions or social security. No one is spared.

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The Joint Economic Committee of Congress has en-

dorsed the voluntary program and called for incentives to increase investment and productivity. The consensus of this bipartisan group was that mandatory price and wage controls must be avoided. Experience proves such controls discourage investment, create shortages, and slow economic growth. Moreover, when such controls are removed, inflation returns at a more rapid pace than ever.

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# Art

## The Last History Painter

Expatriate R.B. Kitaj brings home the Bacon

One of the master images of 20th-century art and literature was the City: the *ville tentaculaire*, condenser of populations and their unease, republic of anxiety, seedbed of desire. From Edward Munch's top-hatted masks parading the streets of Oslo to Francis Bacon's pin-striped executives howling like caged baboons, the City secreted images of alienation. To the eye of modernist poetry it got more spectral as one came closer to it, as the capitals of Christendom did for T.S. Eliot in *The Waste Land*, almost 60 years ago:

the catalogue essay for his present show of 50 drawings and a few paintings at New York City's Marlborough Gallery compares him with Idaho-born Ezra Pound in London—"the Yankee outsider who has the energy to float a circus, and the courage to initiate its polemics"—it reflects this startling English view.

Kitaj is not Pound. But he is one of the most inventive figurative artists at work today, and his ambition—to make the whole of modernist culture, literary, political and visual, available to painting as a subject—is a large brave one. "If some of

and bursts of static. The work responds to an edgy sensibility. Europe of the 20s and '30s, and Northern Europe at that, the dictators' playground. When the Mediterranean world appears, it is not the sumptuous place imagined by Matisse or Picasso, but either Catalonia or the seedier Levantine environment of Cavafy's Alexandria. Its heroes, whose ghostly presences are often quoted in Kitaj's paintings, are the shipless helmsmen of modernism, the rootless cosmopolitans like the couple in *Where the Railroad Leaves the Sea* (1964). Kitaj paints wandering Jews and



**Where the Railroad Leaves the Sea:** a vision of the City as a republic of anxiety and unease. The whole of modernist culture—literary, political and visual—rendered on the canvas

Falling towers  
Jerusalem Athens Alexandria  
Vienna London  
Unreal

In painting today, the chief image maker of the City, apart from Bacon himself, is a 47-year-old American from Cleveland, Ohio, named R.B. Kitaj (pronounced Kee-eye). Kitaj has been living in London for more than 20 years, and has not shown regularly in the U.S. Consequently, he seems more of a name than a presence in American art. In England, his reputation is, if anything, exaggerated in the other direction. He is widely regarded as a reincarnation of America's cultural expatriates of the 1920s. When

us wish to practice art for art's sake alone so be it," he wrote in 1976. "But good pictures, great pictures, will be made to which many modest lives can respond. When I'm told that good art has never been like that, I doubt it, and in any case it seems to me at least as advanced or radical to attempt a more social art as not to."

Kitaj's idea of a "more social art" has little to do with social realism. But he is the last history painter, and his enterprise is to see history through the lens of other media—books, photos, snapshots from film and similar "raw" sources—combined in a kind of painted collage, the visual equivalent of spinning the radio dial and hearing snapshots of different broadcasts on different wavelengths punctuated by silence



**The Hispanist:** fully meant to be there



victims of the power game: Walter Benjamin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg. He has also talked about inventing "a figure, a character in a picture the way novelists have been able to do, like the people you remember out of Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy." There are many openings for gratuitous nostalgia in Kitaj's literary art, and his paintings can be as irritating as any text that drapes its obscurities with belligerent footnotes; they sometimes reduce themselves to promiscuity among famous names. But what generally saves Kitaj's work from this failing is his visual flair and range of notation. He has a virtuoso's fist, and can with equal conviction parody the cartoony style of a '40s detective-novel cover or produce the near life-size portrait, *The Hispanist*, 1977-78, a nervous, delicate laying-on of paint, Klimt-like in its dandified precision. One always feels that what is there is fully meant to be there.

**D**etachment, irony, variety: these are the hallmarks of Kitaj's art, as of the culture it pays homage to. It is anchored in life drawing (the figure, to Kitaj, is the supreme challenge), but this frees him to play with certain areas of art from the past century that are considered, in more orthodox circles, a taboo source. Thus the Picasso from whom one can properly take ideas is the cubist who emerged after 1906. Kitaj, on the other hand, devotes a number of his drawings to making strange pastiches of immature Picasso, the artist of the blue period, with his wistful clowns and phthisic women. Kitaj's three *Bathers*, with their iridescent blooms of pastel and general air of tentative anxiety, pay homage to the blue period. But they stare from the paper with the look of rough creatures trapped in an alien element, refugees from Goya and Velasquez as well as from the 20th century. This ability to suggest cultural continuity in the midst of a general malaise may be the final reason why Kitaj's art haunts a corner of one's mind that no other living painter has contrived to occupy. —Robert Hughes



R.B. Kitaj, a Yankee outsider in London

Homage to refugees from the 20th century.

## The Crusade to Save Those Stuarts



Gilbert Stuart's Martha...



...and George (both 1796)

**A**lthough it was never finished, it became the most familiar portrait in America. An engraving of it stares serenely from every current \$1 bill.\* The artist, besieged by requests for his work, churned out at least 70 replicas in his lifetime; countless copiers followed in his brush strokes. The painting is, of course, George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, one of only three Washington portraits painted from life by colonial America's gifted and prolific artist.

For a century and a half, the portrait of George and a matching Stuart of Martha have belonged to the Athenaeum, a private library in Boston—and, in patriotic spirit at least, to all Bostonians. So when the Athenaeum, strapped for money, recently announced the sale of the pair to Washington's National Portrait Gallery for \$5 million, the outburst rivaled the shot heard round the world.

Boston Mayor Kevin White led the charge. "Everybody knows that Washington, D.C., has no culture—they have to buy it," raged White. He was not mollified by the stipulation that the paintings would return to Boston once every five years for the next 50 years. To try to stop or at least stall the sale, White asked the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court last week for a temporary restraining order. His argument: that \$800 of the Stuarts' original purchase price of \$1,500 in 1831 had come from a public subscription. Hence there was a "public trust" that forbade the sale of the portraits outside Boston.

Washington returned the volley. "This is the National Portrait Gallery and these are the premier national portraits," said Michael Collins, under secretary of the Smithsonian, which operates the Portrait Gallery. "They are made for each other." He denied leading a "raiding party" on Boston, pointing out that the Athenaeum approached the Washington museum when the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which has borrowed and displayed the works for the past 103 years, could offer only \$1 million for them.

At week's end White and Senator Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) announced a citizens' fund-raising drive to "save our Stuarts," and the two museums agreed to postpone the sale until 1980. Meanwhile the local newspapers could not resist some word slinging of their own. "Free George and Martha!" demanded the *Washington Post*. Sniffed the *Boston Globe*: "The proposed deal is akin to, say, selling Faneuil Hall to the state of Arizona as a tourist attraction." The *New York Times* offered its own cheeky compromise: since New York City is equidistant from the feuding cities, why not let George and Martha rest in peace at its Metropolitan Museum?

The dispute highlighted the financial plight of even the great regional museums, which cannot match the buying power of federally funded institutions. Said Howard W. Johnson, president of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: "This isn't parochialism or regional pride. The issue is, how do we retain the cultural strength of our cities?"

\*Those who compare the portrait on the dollar bill may wonder why it shows Washington facing right, while in the Stuart he faces left. In 1918 George Smith, the government engraver responsible for the artwork on the bill, for reasons lost to history deliberately etched Washington's image in reverse. With further artistic license, he made some changes in Washington's clothes and features.

## Sexes

COVER STORY

# How Gay Is Gay?

*Homosexual men and women are making progress toward equality*

**W**andering into the New Town section of Chicago's North Side, a visitor quickly notices the changed city scene: male couples in tight jeans and with close-cropped hair walk together; the crowd watching a volleyball game in Lincoln Park is all male, so are most of the people taking the spring air on a strip of beach along Lake Michigan. In the past few years New Town has become Chicago's first center of open homosexual activity, with an initial result that could have been predicted a decade ago: last summer roving gangs of young toughs shouting anti-homosexual epithets beat up a number of men strolling the streets of the area late at night.

What followed, however, would have been remarkable if not unthinkable in Chicago or in many other major American cities just a few years ago. *Gay Life*, a local homosexual weekly, organized street patrols to stop the assaults. They were also aided by "straight" volunteers from neighborhood community associations. Moreover, they were helped by the Chicago police. Says a rather astonished Grant Ford, publisher of *Gay Life*: "The community groups came to our help right away. They saw us as neighbors rather than gays. The police were even more amazing. They were totally cooperative."

In its way, what happened in New Town symbolizes a national trend that is changing the lives of the American minority that forms the gay society. Homosexual men and women are coming out of the closet as never before to live openly. They are colonizing areas of big cities as their own turf, operating bars and even founding churches in conservative small towns, and setting up a nationwide network of organizations to offer counseling and companionship to those gays—still the vast majority—who continue to conceal their sexual orientation. As in New Town, gay people still encounter suspicion and hostility, and occasionally violence, and their campaign to live openly and freely is still far from won. But they are gaining a degree of acceptance and even sympathy from heterosexuals, many of whom are still unsure how to deal with them, that neither straights nor gays would have thought

possible just the day before yesterday.

The evolving status of gays, and the way they are perceived by heterosexuals, is all the more surprising because of the nature of the gay society. Homosexuals form the most amorphous and isolated—though also the most pervasive—of all American minorities. Blacks and Hispanics, for example, are unified to a large degree by physical characteristics, history, customs and often socioeconomic position. "We cut across every socioeconomic

minority, and alone among American leaders they have no census of their constituency. The Institute of Sex Research, founded by Alfred C. Kinsey, defines a homosexual as anyone who has had more than six sexual experiences with a member of the same gender. On that basis, the institute estimates that homosexuals constitute 10% of the U.S. population (13% of the males, 5% of the females). Of these, according to gay leaders, perhaps only 1% or so are out of the closet.

The rest are still known as homosexuals only to themselves and perhaps a few trusted friends. Until a decade ago, they had nothing in common but their sexual orientation and fear of society's contempt.

The turning point came in the summer of 1969 in Manhattan's Greenwich Village, when 400 gays flooded the streets for several nights to protest police raids on the Stonewall Inn, a homosexual bar on Christopher Street. The anti-Viet Nam, civil rights and women's rights movements all helped galvanize gays into thinking that they, too, could make a claim on society for recognition of their basic rights and point of view. Since then, the gay rights movement has impressed the nation's consciousness strongly enough to gain an ironic tribute: the rise of an alarmed, organized and vehement opposition that includes fundamentalist churches.

The struggle is being fought on many levels. Politically, the movement's victories are now barely balancing its defeats. Thirty-nine cities, towns and counties, including Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Minneapolis, have enacted ordinances forbidding discrimination against homosexuals in jobs and

housing, but only five of those communities have been added to the list in the past two years. The city council in supposedly blasé and sophisticated New York City defeated such an ordinance in 1978. Last week the Connecticut house of representatives voted down a gay rights bill.

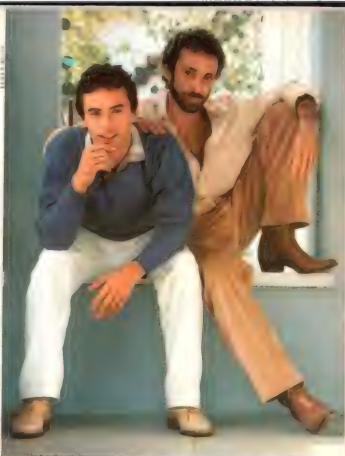
Singer Anita Bryant's well-publicized anti-homosexual crusade in 1977 led to the repeal of gay rights ordinances in Dade County, Fla., Wichita, Kans., St. Paul and Eugene, Ore. But Bryant's efforts also prodded gays by the tens of thousands to join homosexual rights organi-



Patrons relaxing at coffee bar of Club Milwaukee baths  
*Out of the closet as never before.*

line, every racial line," says Jean O'Leary, co-leader of the National Gay Task Force. "We're in every profession you can imagine." Says Robert L. Livingston, a gay member of the New York City commission on human rights: "Homosexuals are disco babies and Goldwater Republicans." He is not exaggerating: Donald Embinder, 44, gay publisher of *Blueboy*, something like a homosexual *Playboy* (circ. 135,000), once campaigned for Arizona's senior Senator.

Today the gays lack a recognized leadership the heads of their organizations speak for only a tiny minority of a mi-



Lesbians at women's disco, Sahara, in Manhattan; Casablanca Records' Marc Paul Simon (right) and Lover Ray Webster at home in Los Angeles

zations. In Washington, D.C., last fall, the gays organized to help elect Marion Barry as mayor. A staunch gay rights advocate, Barry has expressed gratitude for their support. Says Tom Bostow, president of Washington's Gertrude Stein Democratic Club: "The single person who elected Barry was Anita Bryant." The gays also mobilized enough strength at the polls in California last November to turn down, 3 to 2, a proposition that would have permitted school boards to fire any openly homosexual teachers.

In 1975 the Civil Service Commission, responding to a federal court decision, issued guidelines stating that people could not be denied federal employment solely because of homosexuality. The guidelines do not govern some "excepted" departments. Among these, the Foreign Service and the Agency for International Development of the State Department officially ended discrimination against homosexuals two years ago, but the FBI and CIA are still holding out. The Defense Department clings to a hard-line policy: "Known homosexuals are separated from the military service."

Some 40 Congressmen are now sponsoring an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that would forbid discrimination in jobs, housing, public facilities or federally aided programs on the basis of "affectional or sexual orientation," as well as race or religion. It has little chance

of passage this year. In the future, each side will probably win a vote here and there, but in the nation as a whole the gays and the anti-gays seem to have fought each other to a political standstill.

That is not the case on the social and psychological fronts, where the increasing openness and the acceptance of gays is startling. Significantly, some 120 national corporations, including such major companies as A.T. & T. and IBM, have announced that they do not discriminate in hiring or promoting people because they are homosexual. Television and movies are treating gay themes more openly and

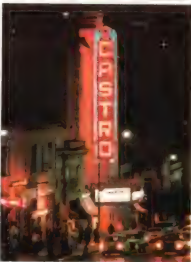
sympathetically. ABC's hit series *Soap*, for example, has two homosexual characters, one a macho football player. Another sign of the times: Advice Columnist Ann Landers, a stalwart champion of traditional morality, now counsels parents not to be ashamed of their homosexual children.

In several big cities—New York, Boston, Chicago—gays have moved into run-down neighborhoods, renovated buildings and set up their own bustling communities. One of the best-established gay neighborhoods is in San Francisco, where homosexuals are flocking by the thousands from all over the country to Castro Street and the Haight-Ashbury section, once the capital of hippiedom. They are even being recruited for the police department.

The district was once represented on the city board of supervisors by Harvey Milk, a gay leader who was killed in November by Daniel James White, a former member of the board and a political opponent. Now running for the seat is Leonard Matlovich, who was discharged from the Air Force four years ago in a test case on homosexual rights.

Even outside such "gay ghettos" as San Francisco's, the most striking evidence of the movement is the astonishing proliferation of organizations dedicated publicly to serving homosexuals, whether out of or still in the closet. They are designed to help gays in what is still in the overwhelming majority of cases a lonely

The scene on San Francisco's Castro Street



# If you actually enjoyed your first sip of Scotch, you sipped the wrong Scotch.

The rich, assertive flavour of true Scotch is an acquired taste.

Most Scotches try to make things easier for a beginner by toning down this taste with less expensive and less flavourful grain whiskies.

We're willing to risk putting you off, by putting more of the true Scotch taste into Teacher's Highland Cream.

In fact, we use more of the expensive malt whiskies than almost any other Scotch.

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The taste that sophisticated Scotch drinkers have learned to appreciate.

But don't get discouraged. Even for them, it wasn't love at first sip.

**Teacher's.  
A lesson in Scotch.**





## Sexes

struggle: first the battle within themselves to face the truth about their sexual orientation, then the excruciatingly difficult decision whether or not to "come out"—and if so, when and to whom.

A few younger gays, especially in big cities, have never hidden their identities. Benefiting from the progress of the movement, they have lived openly as homosexuals since they first realized that they were gay. But they are a tiny minority of a minority. Says Robin MacCormack, a gay assistant to Boston Mayor Kevin White: "I am just one very fortunate person. In those buildings in the financial district and all around the city, there are people who go to work every day wondering: 'Is this the day I'm going to let something slip? Is this the day I'm going to lose career chances or even my job?' It's a costume party, for gays and straights alike. Sometimes it's come as you are, but most often it's come as you aren't."

**E**ven among those gays who have decided to reveal their sexuality, very few are all the way out of the closet. Some reveal their homosexuality to a few trusted friends but not to parents; some to parents but not to grandparents; some to families and friends but not employers. They are never sure of the reaction they will get. A young San Francisco attorney who handles the account of a major oil company for one of the city's most prestigious law firms finally steeled himself to reveal his homosexuality to one of his senior partners at dinner. The boss said he did not care, but cautioned the lawyer not to tell the other senior partners just yet. Elaine Noble, another assistant to Boston Mayor White, belongs to a 200-member organization of Boston-area lesbian professionals—bankers, lawyers, stockbrokers, ad people. She is one of merely a handful of members who have openly proclaimed their sexual orientation.

About the only way that homosexuals could find companionship until a few years ago was in gay bars or cruising certain streets. (One result: the rate of alcoholism among homosexuals is estimated at 20% to 30%, three to four times the rate among all adult Americans.) Today Washington, D.C., has more than 80 homosexual organizations, and Boston, with 70, even has one for overweight lesbians.

These organizations generally divide into two types. Many are primarily meeting, counseling and support groups for homosexual lawyers, doctors, businessmen, teachers, whatever. A person calling such a group will be put in touch with other gay males or lesbians with whom he or she can arrange quiet dinners and talks about professional or social problems. The organizations are particularly helpful for older gays who have no desire to patronize bars or discos catering to homosexuals, and whose life-style is far removed from the tight-jeans set.

The other type of homosexual orga-

nization is the community service group. For the religiously inclined, there is a national gay church: the Metropolitan Community Church, headquartered in Los Angeles and including 80 congregations throughout the U.S. In Boston, the Homophile Community Health Service provides psychological counseling for gays who fear that straight doctors will tell them that the source of all gays' problems is their homosexuality.

Despite these new forms of support, gays still often feel isolated and persecuted. There are now three homosexual bathhouses in Milwaukee, a sign in a way of how far the movement has come. But

and Leominster that it is not open season on homosexuals."

As a result, while the gay rights movement is definitely moving ahead, the life-styles of homosexuals vary widely throughout the nation. Some examples:

► In Mankato, Minn. (pop. 32,000), Jim Chalgren, 27, and five other men were thrown out of the Trader and Trapper Discotheque in 1976 for dancing together. Now Chalgren occasionally dances with other men in bars and encounters nothing worse than name-calling. In fact, he has organized gay dances that are held every three or four months in hotel ballrooms, drawing crowds of as many as 130. But, he says, "there are people who meet at our dances who will avoid each other if they cross paths in a hardware store. It can still be a disaster to be identified as gay in Mankato."

► In Macon, Ga. (pop. 150,000), two gay bars compete for customers with no police harassment. But the only proclaimed homosexual in town is Disc Jockey Johnny Fambro, who came out last fall to help organize opposition to an Anita Bryant rally. "Susan," a lesbian who works at nearby Robins Air Force Base, attended the anti-Bryant demonstration but would not carry a picket sign because she feared she would not get a security clearance; nor will she take her roommate "Doris" to parties.

► In Cambridge, Mass., the Harvard-Radcliffe Gay Student Association meets openly every Wednesday night to hear speeches and play readings, and has thrown parties that attracted as many as 300 students from the area. At Harvard Law School, gays have acquired considerable clout; the school now will not allow any law firms that discriminate against homosexuals to use its placement service for employment interviews. But gay students at Harvard Business School still keep their homosexuality a deep secret for fear that it will hurt their employment prospects with major corporations when they graduate. The chairwoman of the Radcliffe Lesbians Association asks that her name not be printed in TIME because "I would just as soon my relations in California did not know."

Among the gays, there is a basic split between those who flaunt a defiant life-style and the closeted, who grant that "drag queens" and "flaming fags" have called attention to the gays' plight by marching in the streets, yet would never dream of emulating them. There are other divisions. Black homosexuals charge, with some justice, that the gay rights movement is dominated by whites who are often no less racist than straight society. At the same time they are rejected, and vehemently, by heterosexual blacks. Says Terri Clark, a Washington lesbian activist: "The black community is extremely homophobic, because it feels that the [homosexual] person has been corrupted by the white man's perversions."

Lesbians often feel themselves to be



**Rights demonstration in New York**  
*Suspicion, hostility, and even violence.*

there has been a price to pay: since last year, police have arrested 36 men on charges of disorderly conduct, though the police found enough evidence to arraign only four. Says Milwaukee District Attorney E. Michael McCann: "I view the homosexual community as a quiet but suppurating sore on the body politic."

Even in cities or states that have freedom-of-sex laws, the gays are often in danger of losing jobs, or their apartments, if they come out. Says Gay Boston Attorney John P. Ward, speaking of Massachusetts, whose highest court has handed down two notably liberal decisions: "What the law really is is what happens in the little district courts, and between you and the police officer—and the law has to change considerably before the message goes out to places like Fitchburg



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the most persecuted minority of all. One reason is economic: working at low-paying jobs, they usually do not have as much money as gay males, who are often successful in the straight world. Nor do homosexual men usually have children to support, as do a fair number of lesbians who have finally admitted their sexual orientation. Many female homosexuals think they have less in common with gay men than with heterosexual feminists, who have now largely accepted them after some early misgivings.

The males are also far more visible than the females in performing one of the most fascinating roles of the gay rights movement: influencing straight culture. Male homosexuals have long been particularly active in the world of the arts, where they often can work openly with

whom are themselves gay, introduce to straight audiences whatever new look or sound catches on at Fire Island or other gathering places for gays. Says David Rothenberg, a gay who used to be a publicist on Broadway, "If I were a businessman, I'd walk Christopher Street in a gay parade ground in Manhattan's Greenwich Village because that's what they'll be selling at Lamson's next year."

The outstanding example of gay taste going straight is the popularity of disco lights, dancing and music, which swept the homosexual clubs of Fire Island and Manhattan long before they caught on among straights. Some gays feel that homosexuals especially long to lose themselves in the kind of glittery, dream-fantasy world created by discos. Says one gay editor: "To me, Studio 54 is the epitome

baggy white painters' pants, though such garments are now being bought by heterosexual men and women. In more elegant ensembles, the wearing of silk scarves with sport coats or suits began among gays and is now catching on with dressy straights.

More generally, homosexuals adopted long hair before it became *de rigueur* for young males of all persuasions; once long hair was in, the gays led the swing to short back and sides. There is, in fact, a saying among homosexuals that straights will adopt a fashion just as *avant-garde* gays are turning to something new.

If the gays are split over fashions and life-styles, they are splintered in matters of politics and strategy. Last February delegates to a national conference sponsored by a coalition of gay male and lesbian organizations in Philadelphia voted to stage a march on Washington on Oct. 14 to urge passage of gay-rights legislation across the country. But many gays shudder at the prospect of more militant and flamboyant homosexuals besieging Capitol Hill in full view of the TV cameras. The opponents of the march fear it will cause a damaging backlash. Says Doug Wright, a Washington, D.C., editor: "That's like handing Anita Bryant a victory she can't get anywhere else."

The movement is also split on ultimate goals. Most gays want only to be allowed to live openly and freely without suffering any penalty from society. But the radical fringe is agitating for the repeal of laws making sexual contact between adult gays and young boys a crime. The idea horrifies many homosexuals, who are well aware of the deep-seated fear among many parents that gays are out to seduce or enthrall straight children, a view homosexual leaders hotly deny.

Whatever course the organized gay movement may take, and whatever its victories or defeats, the outlook is for more and more homosexuals to come at least partly out of the closet. Says Chicago Psychologist Jon Jost: "Ten or 15 years ago, homosexuality was just not discussed, and many people suffered because they simply did not know that there have always been people like themselves. Everything that has happened in the past few years has reduced the potential for that isolation. Just hearing the word gay, reading it in a newspaper, seeing a gay person, real or fictional, on television—any of those things make it easier for a person to come out."

Nor can heterosexual society again ignore the subject of homosexuality, as many straights devoutly wish it could. Says Eric Rofes, a gay teacher in a Cambridge, Mass., private school: "Ten years ago, few people knew that they knew a gay person. Today, most kids grow up knowing that they know someone who is gay." Knowledge, however, does not necessarily mean acceptance. ■



Leonard Matlovich (right) campaigning for seat on San Francisco board of supervisors

A divided leadership on strategy, tactics and political goals

no fear of losing their livelihood if they have the talent, Novelist Truman Capote and Playwright Tennessee Williams are two notable examples. But the new influence of homosexuals is something quite different: their dress, tastes and speech are being adopted by many straights who would be stunned if they knew the origins of the latest fashions or fads.

The extent of this influence is difficult to pin down since there is no readily identifiable "gay aesthetic." For every flamboyant gay male who parades about in tight-fitting Levi's and bomber jacket (one current uniform), there are others who wear three-piece pinstripe suits, and even the strollers in New Town and Castro Street will affect one look today and another tomorrow. What does seem to be true, however, is that some open gays, feeling themselves to be rebels against conventional society, search restlessly for new fashions that run counter to the straight taste of the moment. Then fashion designers and music executives, some of

of the gay aesthetic"—a sentiment that might startle many of that watering hole's patrons.

Music executives know that the songs and performers that most excite gay audiences have the best chance of selling nationally. Music indeed is one field in which being gay can be a benefit. Marc Paul Simon, vice president of Casablanca Record and Filmworks in Los Angeles, told a boss about his homosexuality his second day on an earlier job at Twentieth Century Fox Records. Says Simon: "I made it a selling point. I told him that I would be an advantage, since the best clubs are gay."

A male homosexual model, acclaimed as one of the world's best-dressed men, cites examples of fashion takeovers. "The first time I saw men wearing Adidas running shoes as part of casual wear was in the homosexual community on Fire Island several years ago. Now it has become a fashion staple in the straight world." Gays were among the first to wear

# Masters & Johnson on Homosexuality

*An exclusive preview of the famed sex researchers' newest study*

No doubt about it. Gynecologist William Howell Masters, 63, and Psychologist Virginia Johnson, 54, are a contemporary phenomenon. Since 1954 the famous sex-research duo have sold nearly 750,000 hard-cover copies of their five books, trained 7,000 sex therapists, observed more than 10,000 orgasms in their St. Louis lab, and treated 2,500 "sexually dysfunctional" couples, achieving a remarkable success rate of 80%. Along the way, they have become undisputed stars of a burgeoning sexual research industry, a fact acknowledged last year when the board of their Reproductive Biology Research Foundation finally persuaded them to change its name to the Masters and Johnson Institute.

Like their predecessor Alfred Kinsey, they have found that poking into the sex lives of Americans can be unsettling. Their first and most impressive book, *Human Sexual Response*, published in 1966, was a meticulous, pioneering inquiry into the physiology of sex, it dispelled myths about this taboo subject that even doctors believed in—for example, that sexual activity stops with age. But their work, especially such controversial aspects of it as their use of sexual surrogates as partners assisting in the treatment of impotent men, brought upon them the wrath of the pious.

Now M & J apparently feel that the public is ready for their clinical findings on a more controversial form of sex: homosexuality. They can hardly be accused of rushing into print—the homosexual research project began in 1964 and the laboratory work was finished in 1968. The book reports on the sexual performance of 176 homosexuals—94 men, 82 women—ranging in age from 21 to 54. The homosexuals were compared with two groups of heterosexuals: 567 men and women culled from the original participants in the *Human Sexual Response* study and 114 new volunteers. As before, these human guinea pigs went through their sexual paces in the M & J laboratory, with the ever vigilant scientists standing by, notebooks in hand.

Masters and Johnson are at last letting the public in on what they found. In Boston next week Little, Brown and Co. is publishing their widely awaited *Homosexuality in Perspective* (\$17.50), a densely documented 450-page tome that has already prompted gossip gossips about what it does and does not reveal.

Voyeurs will have to search hard for easy delights. The study concentrates on the bodily processes of sex, in highly technical language, and has almost nothing to say about the psychology, ethics or origins of homosexuality, nor does it address the question of whether the lack of any proactive aspect to sex affects homosexuality. The conclusions are stated with

caution and caveats—the sample is small and may not be representative of the general homosexual population. There is also a warning that sex in the lab may differ from sex at home. As Masters told TIME Correspondent Ruth Galvin: "We can't say what happens beneath the sheets when the lights are out." The prose is opaque, studded with such assaults on English as "stimulative approach opportunity" (foreplay) and "vocalized performance concerns" (talking about sex). Still, Masters and Johnson have produced a thought-provoking inquiry into the sexual life of homosexuals. Some highlights:

► Committed homosexuals (those who

can cause lower abdominal pain in women, comparable to the familiar testicular pain in men.

► Heterosexual sex fantasies are common among homosexuals, mirroring the homosexual fantasies occasionally indulged in by many heterosexuals.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding is not about homosexuals, but about heterosexuals. As Masters and Johnson tell it, heterosexuals are generally bumbling in their lovemaking: they hurry sex, misread signals, and communicate poorly. Men usually assume, wrongly, that lubrication of the vagina means that the woman is ready for intercourse. Many



William Masters and Virginia Johnson at work in their St. Louis Institute

*Scrupulously neutral in their attitudes toward homosexuality*

have lived together at least one year) have a more relaxed understanding of their partners' sexual needs than most heterosexuals, married and unmarried, presumably because it is easier to understand one's own sex than the opposite sex.

► Homosexuals and heterosexuals they studied—all of them preselected for "sexual efficiency"—have about the same low rate of failure to reach orgasm: 36%.

► "Ambisexuals." M & J's term for their admittedly small sampling of twelve bisexuals who are equally attracted to both sexes, have few sex fantasies and rarely fantasize about real people.

► In lesbian lovemaking, which many sex researchers believe can teach heterosexual males a thing or two about how to approach women, committed couples devote an "extraordinary" amount of time to sexual play. For example, stimulation of the breasts, usually begun by heterosexual men within 30 seconds of sexual activity, begins much later among lesbians.

► Prolonged lovemaking without orgasm

women have no idea how men like to be touched sexually, and most men massage the female genitals in a straightforward gung-ho style that women find harsh. And enjoyment of sex is clouded by the fear of not reaching orgasm. Say Masters and Johnson: "Preoccupation with orgasmic attainment was expressed time and again by heterosexual men and women during interrogation after each testing session."

A third of all heterosexual women said that their breasts are not a particularly important erogenous zone, yet many considered breast play exciting because men seemed to enjoy it. Unlike lesbians, who knew that touching the breasts can be painful during certain times of the menstrual cycle, heterosexual men almost always touched the breasts in the same way. Even when breast play caused pain, the wives reported the fact to the researchers, but not to their husbands. Say Masters and Johnson: "When the husbands were queried separately, they expressed

## Sexes

surprise at their wives' cyclic distress, and the unanimous reaction was 'Why didn't she tell me?'"

The sex researchers suggest an obvious answer: poor sexual communication between men and women rests on the assumption, shared by both sexes, that men are natural leaders and experts in sex and therefore must be doing the right thing. "The burden of sexual performance is on the man," says Johnson, "the burden of trying to guess when she's interested, what she wants, how she wants it, and so on." Adds Masters: "What we have established in this book is that the male will have to give up his position as sex expert and the one with the greater sexual facility—which he doesn't have."

**H**omosexuals, who do not have the burden of deciphering the opposite sex, generally communicate better. Committed, attached homosexuals are less preoccupied with orgasm than married heterosexuals, and more aware of the exact level of their partners' sexual excitement. And single gays did better than single straights. Masters and Johnson

heterosexual groups was a recurring daydream of sex with a different partner. On the other hand, the leading fantasies of gay men involved body parts—usually the genitals and buttocks. Homosexual fantasies about forced sex were more violent and sadistic than those among heterosexuals. Straight women repeatedly conjured up images of gang rape but the assaults were relatively tame: although the woman is given no choice in the matter, she is treated lovingly by a circle of panting admirers. In most cases the lesbian version of these fantasies showed a theme of revenge against another woman. The daydreamer engineers the humiliation of the woman and then stands by enjoying it. Straight men had less violent fantasies about forced sex than gay men, and in fact played the part of rapist slightly less often than they did that of the rapee—a helpless male ravished against his will by a group of lusty women.

The finding that homosexuals often fantasize about having heterosexual sex confirms reports from some psychologists and counselors. For instance, in the recent book on female homosexuality *Our*

to heterosexuality is possible more than half the time among gays who are highly motivated to change.

Masters and Johnson consider these findings subsidiary to the main, and really not very surprising, point of the book: there are no differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals in the physical processes of lubrication, erection, ejaculation and orgasm. Says Masters: "The entire orgasmic experience is indistinguishable." Indeed, the researchers believe that their demonstration of "nearly identical response vectors" will gradually lead to more public acceptance of homosexuality.

**T**hat judgment is questionable, for public opposition to homosexuality hardly depends on the notion that gays have different kinds of orgasms. M & J are probably right, however, to suggest that one significant byproduct of their book will be better medical care for homosexuals, who have been badly treated by doctors. In the past, for instance, some doctors refused to give them rectal examinations for fear of causing arousal, a concern that has never been shown by gynecologists conducting vaginal examinations. Says Dr. Robert Kolodny, M & J's heir apparent at the research institute: "Documenting the similarity of physiological process gives less excuse for the health-care professional to shrink from treatment of the homosexual patient, under the pretext that his health problems may be in some way different."

Though Masters and Johnson are scrupulously neutral in their attitudes toward homosexuality, their latest study is sure to have a social impact simply because it devotes so much attention to the gay life. As Johnson says: "People who stop and think will say, hey, these are somebody's brothers and sisters, wives and husbands, sons and daughters, friends and neighbors, and they are loved and loving human beings." The book has another implicit message for heterosexuals: it is that homosexuality is not going to go away, whether society ignores it, accepts it or rejects it. In fact, by looking honestly, if critically, at the gay life, straight men and women may learn important lessons in lovemaking. Among them, that nothing succeeds so much as treating sexual partners with consideration, understanding and unhurried gentleness. Says Masters: "These are the big things to come out of this book at long range. I have a hunch."

And perhaps something more general and therapeutic as well. Masters and Johnson's physiological approach in all their work has drawn much fire from those who rightly point out that there is more to human affection than rates of orgasm. But that same narrow focus on biology has given to many readers both knowledge and a sense of legitimacy about sex that they never had, and that can be a liberation for men and women of any persuasion.



A scientist begins a 50-year study on homosexual couples.

found the same patterns among the ambisexuals: they acted like homosexuals when they were with homosexuals (e.g., more communication) and like heterosexuals while making heterosexual love (e.g., an assumption that the male should take the lead). To Masters and Johnson, this is clearly a result of "cultural influence"—ambisexuals pick up different cues on how heterosexuals and homosexuals make love.

The ambisexuals seemed well adjusted. They had no psychiatric or work problems, but were detached and lonely, and fantasized very little, a fact that the researchers cannot explain. The chapter on sex fantasies comes with a deflating warning: don't make too much of the findings because they came from only 132 people, were gathered a decade or more ago, and will not be reported in full until the next Masters and Johnson book, *Human Sexual Inadequacy II*, due in 1981. Still, the preliminary findings show that fantasies of forced sex were the most popular fantasies among lesbians and the second most popular among homosexual men, heterosexual men and heterosexual women.

The primary fantasy found in the two

*Right to Love: A Lesbian Resource Book*. Los Angeles Clinical Psychologist Nancy Toder reports that many of her lesbian patients talk of sexual feelings or dreams about men. Toder thinks that these musings are partly out of curiosity, partly reminiscences of sleeping with men. There is no evidence, however, that homosexuals dream of straight sex any more than heterosexuals dream of gay sex.

One of the book's most unexpected findings did not come out of the homosexual research project, but from sex therapy provided for gays—itsself something of a pioneering venture. Between 1968 and 1977 the researchers treated, for various sexual problems, 151 homosexuals, including 54 men and 13 women who wanted to convert or revert to heterosexuality. M & J do not list a success rate for such conversions, only a known failure rate. That failure rate is now at 35%, and is not expected to exceed 45% when all the five-year follow-ups are completed. For professional therapists, many of whom believe that such conversions are rare or impossible, this is likely to be the book's most surprising statistic. It would mean that a permanent, or at least long-term, switch

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## People

She wore little more than a slip and a pout as Maggie in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and as the unhappy hooker Gloria Wandrous in *Butterfield 8*. In *Cleopatra*, her tangles and baubles barely covered the upper and lower regions of the Nile. What a costume change, then, for **Elizabeth Taylor**, in private life Mrs. John Warner, wife of the junior Senator from Virginia. Dutifully observing a 62-year-old Senate tradition she might understandably

de Brantes) exchanged vows 26 years ago. Then came the more solemn religious ceremony in a tapestry-draped 12th century chapel close by the President's Château de l'Étoile outside Aulnay. For that occasion, Jacinte wore a traditional flowing white dress, tulle veil and pillbox hat, all by Jean-Louis Scherrer, one of her mother's favorite designers. The altar billowed with blue, white and pink *jacinthes* (thyanthis). After the honeymoon,



Senate Wives Warner and Magnuson at Gray Ladies' muster

have skipped, Liz donned a Red Cross Gray Ladies' uniform and joined **Mrs. Warren Magnuson** of Washington and other Senate wives at a volunteers' luncheon. Once Senate wives rolled bandages for World War I wounded. Now they meet regularly to make nonpolitical talk along with hand puppets and clothing for a Washington children's hospital.

How happily the President of France forsook affairs of state for an *affaire de coeur*. Splendid in morning coat, tall, smiling **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing** gave his arm to his youngest daughter **Jacinte**, 19, who became the bride of Architect **Philippe Guibout**, 29. For the civil ceremony the couple and attendants crowded into the same minuscule town hall in the Loire Valley farming village of Aulnay in which Giscard *père et mère* (**Anne-Aymone**

the couple will move into a two-room Paris flat not far from the apartment of another pair of distinguished newlyweds, **Caroline** of Monaco and **Philippe Janot**



Writer-Reliever Scroogie McGraw surrounded by fans

The call from the Oval Office customarily comes at about 4 o'clock. "Ready to jog?" asks **Jimmy Carter**. **Rosalynn Carter** usually is The presidential couple in jogging attire, set out together on a course around the White House South Lawn (measured one memorable afternoon at a quarter-mile by panting correspondents who trailed **Lyndon Johnson** for 18 laps on an improbable mobile press conference). The Johnson quarter-mile is not the only Carter family run. They couple-jogged in Cairo and Jerusalem on recent visits abroad. Last week at Camp David, Rosalynn reached a running high. Trailed by two carloads of agents toggled out in double-barreled shotguns, the First Lady panted a full 4½ miles. "This is the farthest Rosalynn has ever gone," announced her proud husband, adding, "On good days, I like to go ten." Oh, shin ache.

Some baseball pitchers are bad boys of winter: they come in low and inside with their typewriters and tell tales out of the clubhouse. **Jim Bouton** perfected the pitch with *Ball Four*, and as a sequel ex-Yankee **Sparky Lyle** this season spikes up dirt about the world champs in *The Bronx Zoo*. Then there's Philadelphia Phillies Reliever **Tug McGraw**, 34. When his arm is in the whirlpool, McGraw's mind is busy thinking up baseball fairy tales for children. He is working on one about a boy from the Bowery and his dog who both make it to the majors and another in which balls, bats and gloves come alive. "I'm sure lots of people want to read the other type of story," says Tug. "But I want to present some positive things that kids can grow around. And maybe make more appearances on the literary mound than the other type guarantees."

French President Giscard d'Estaing escorting Daughter Jacinte into wedding chapel near their family château



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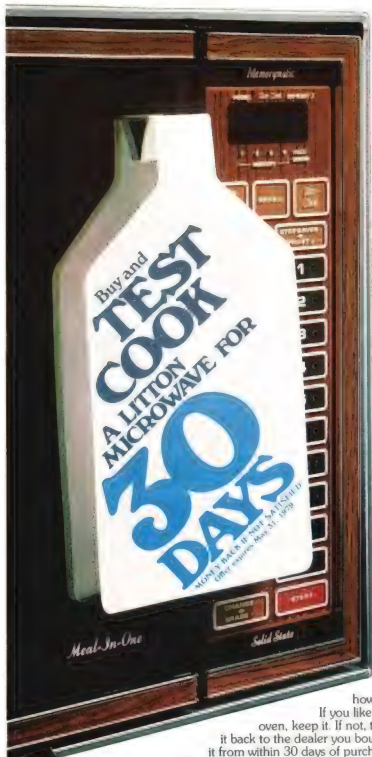
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## Education

### Was the Kid Too Smart to Learn?

Schoolboard vs. gifted child

From the day he entered first grade, blue-eyed Tommy Irwin was called a "behavior problem"—a disobedient pupil who did shoddy work. But after his third-grade teacher told the Irwins that their son had a "learning disability," they hired an educational psychologist who tested Tommy. The conclusion: Tommy was not too slow but too quick for the classroom routine. His IQ was a very elevated 169. "He was frustrated and bored to tears," observes his father, Attorney Ronald Irwin. Now the Irwins are suing Illinois' McHenry County School District for damages of \$1 million, seeking a legal precedent that would compel increased education spending for the gifted.

Not every dreary or rambunctious pupil is a genius, by any means. About 3% of the nation's students are thought to be gifted, measured either by intelligence tests or a special flair for subjects such as mathematics or foreign languages. Special programs for gifted students receive only token funding compared with programs for the handicapped and disadvantaged. Illinois, for example, spends \$740 per child to educate its 220,000 handicapped, but only \$40 per child for its approximately 70,000 gifted students. The disparity is largely due to the notion that the gifted will flourish on their own. But increasingly that view is being challenged by cases like that of Tommy Irwin.

At home, Tommy's gifts seemed evident enough. He did not begin talking



Tommy Irwin, building a battleship

"He was frustrated and bored to tears."

until age two, but then he spoke in complete sentences. He was soon memorizing advanced charts of human anatomy, and could whip his grandfather at chess at age four. But at school Tommy produced conflicting test results (once scoring low in mathematical ability, later achieving a very high score). Teachers frequently complained about his short attention span, and sent him to stand out in the hall to keep him from distracting the other children. Because of his undisciplined behavior, he was at first denied admittance to the school's twelve-week program for

gifted children; later, he was admitted. "But it was mostly arts and crafts with a few field trips run by a volunteer," says his father. "There was not a trained teacher for the gifted." Said Daniel DeRoche, Tommy's principal at the Edgebrook Elementary School: "He is the kind of child a teacher dreams of having once in a lifetime. But now that we have him, we don't know what to do with him." The Irwins received permission to enroll Tommy, now a fifth-grader, in a Spanish class at McHenry High School, but even that permission was soon revoked after the board of education expressed concern about "establishing a precedent."

The rejection was what led the Irwins to file suit. "It's sad that it had to come to this," says Ronald Irwin, "but years were going by and nothing was happening. For Tommy, it is already late." Indeed the Irwins soon received a supporting phone call from a teacher, herself the mother of a gifted child, who warned, "There is serious danger that such children can be permanently damaged by the time they are eight."

Boredom is the rarely noted but deadly enemy of education. Not just the gifted but all sorts of children can become misfits, and even high school dropouts, if they have no alternatives to the traditional curriculum. McHenry School District Superintendent Richard Farmer sympathizes with the Irwins. "We have been trying diligently," says he, adding, "but in education, the scramble for funds is the name of the game. When the cuts are made, the handicapped programs are what is protected. Gifted children always get their share of cuts. This lawsuit could answer a fundamental question, and if it is answered, that could be a great service to these special children."

## Milestones

**SEPARATED.** W. Michael Blumenthal, 53, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury; and Eileen Polley Blumenthal; after 28 years of marriage, three children. The couple separated once before, in 1977, but were reconciled the following year. No legal action is planned.

**DIVORCED.** Liza Minnelli, 33, sparkle-eyed film actress and singer (*Cabaret*; *New York, New York*); and Jack Haley Jr., 45, movie producer (*That's Entertainment!*) and television executive; after 4½ years of marriage; in Los Angeles.

**DIED.** Nino Rota, 67, Italian composer best known for some 100 movie scores, including the Oscar-winning music for *Godfather II* and nearly all of Director Federico Fellini's films; of a blood clot; in Rome. A native of Milan, Rota composed his first opera at 14 and in 1931 went to the U.S. to study at Philadelphia's Curtis Institute.

Returning to Italy two years later, he continued writing operas (*The Italian Straw Hat*), symphonies and chamber works during his next 45 years, but achieved his greatest success scoring such films as Fellini's *La Strada* (1954), *La Dolce Vita* (1960), *8½* (1963) and *Amarcord* (1975), as well as Francis Ford Coppola's two *Godfather* films. Prolific and inventive, Rota often wrote his scores before the director began shooting. Said he: "Music does not need to be hard to understand to be good. It should relax and entertain the audience—no torture them."

**DIED.** Charles Sawyer, 92, former Secretary of Commerce (1948-53); of a stroke; in Palm Beach, Fla. A Cincinnati lawyer and entrepreneur, Sawyer ran unsuccessfully as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1938 and six years later was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Belgium by President Roosevelt. He re-

signed his diplomatic assignment the following year and was named to the Cabinet by his good friend Harry Truman in 1948. A conservative Democrat who served as the Administration's envoy to the business community, Sawyer denounced stringent antitrust legislation and advocated lower corporate taxes and a balanced budget. He found himself severely tested in 1952, when Truman seized the steel industry in order to avert a strike. The President ordered Sawyer to administer the mills and grant workers and owners wage and price increases. Unhappy with the seizure, Sawyer acted only when assured of the order in writing. Resigning his post after Eisenhower's election, he returned to Ohio and his law practice, continuing to hold firm his belief in the nation's free enterprise system. "The United States, like Atlas, is holding up the world," he once said. "But who holds up Atlas? American business."



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# RUN FOR THE ZOO IN CHICAGO

## Books

### The Heart and Head of the Matter

CONFESSIONS OF A CONSERVATIVE

by Garry Wills; Doubleday; 231 pages; \$10



Conservative sources St. Augustine, Cardinal Newman and (below) G.K. Chesterton



**G**arry Wills calls himself a conservative, out of convenience. He would rather call himself a "convenientist," a citizen always willing to convene with his countrymen for the public good.

Wills, 44, is not an uncomplicated man. He is a Jesuit-trained classics scholar, historian, teacher and journalist with one of the most supple intellects now wrapped around the body politic. The output of his books, articles and criticism is protean. It began 20 years ago when he was still a student at Xavier University in Cincinnati. William F. Buckley Jr., impressed by a Wills piece on *TIME* style, offered him reviewing assignments for *National Review*. He turned in so many that he had to use a pseudonym (William Roman) "to keep from clogging the pages."

#### Excerpt

Politicians fascinate because they constitute such a paradox: They are an elite that accomplishes mediocrity for the public good. Hilaire Belloc, after spending a term in the House of Commons, wrote: "The standard of intellect in politics is so low that men of moderate mental capacity have to stoop in order to reach it." He meant this as a criticism; but it is good that some men are willing to stoop. How else would our politics get done? Eugene McCarthy spent a good deal of his time trying to prove he was too good for politics. What use was that?

Any fair person must recognize the positive uses of mediocrity. There is no mystery in the matter. We have admitted that a politician must be representative—and that means he must be predictable. He must be chosen because his general circle of thought is known. He is not likely to depart too markedly from that agreed-on area of thinking. If he were startlingly novel in his approach, liable to strike off on his own, capable of bold invention, unafraid of its consequences, only an idiot would ask him to represent the mass of common man.

Between 1959 and 1963, Wills wrote books on Chesterton, Catholicism and Roman culture, in addition to working on a doctoral dissertation on Aeschylus. During the '60s, his pieces in *Esquire* and the *Saturday Evening Post* established him as a journalist of the first rank. His *Nixon Agonistes* (1969) still has the longest shelf-life of any book on the former President. Last year Historian Wills published *Inventing America*, a fresh look at the roots of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. The work has already won several literary prizes. A few weeks ago, he was holed up in Williamsburg, Va., completing a sequel at the rate of one chapter a day. Wills has also found time to write a suspense novel, *At Button's*, conduct a weekly seminar for Johns Hopkins students at his home in Baltimore and meet three deadlines a week for his syndicated newspaper column "Outrider."

How far out can a conservative ride? In his *Confessions*, Wills ranges from Jack Ruby to Cardinal Newman, from Everett Dirksen's Washington to St. Augustine's City of God. The pace is brisk, the intellectual hurdles high, the glimpses of autobiography charming but scattered.

**F**rom the seminary, which he leaves for reasons of "Eros generally, not Eros specifically," Wills slings himself into Bill Buckley's energetic orbit of lively conversation, sailboats and sports cars whose "constant whirrings down, fussy tuggings, and resumed flight seemed a nuisance rather than a luxury." In a holding pattern over New York, Wills falls into conversation with a stewardess. The talk continues during the ride from the airport, but later the young journalist cannot remember her name. A little subterfuge results in a new meeting and a marriage—now past its 20th year.

By today's matrimonial standards Wills is practically a radical. His ideas on love and the governing of men are also a departure from the customary lines. Wills' starting point is St. Augustine: "A people is a gathering of many rational individuals united by accord on loved things held in common." What rational individuals love best is peace. It is, says Wills, "the very soul of society" and "the gift of the politicians."

What kind of talk is that from a man who wrote brilliant, troubling pieces about the assassinations and civil strife of the '60s? Did not three Presidents and most of the Congress give us the Viet Nam War? Wills' long-range views of democratic politics tend to overlook such immediate questions. He focuses instead on a system that works for most of the people, most of the time. He applauds a process that elects less than the best because he believes political leaders of ordinary ability and accommodating character lessen the chances for disruptive extremes. "The turmoil of the '60s occurred," Wills writes, "because

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Garry Wills

*United by loved things held in common*

the anti-Communist crusade had revived in our system, whose whole genius is bargaining and compromise, an absolutism not in accord with our normal politics. We could not administer final justice around the world through a political apparatus not meant to administer final justice even to ourselves."

For Wills, final justice is the business of God, not of man. It is a conviction at the theological heart of his book. The secular Wills realizes that men cannot wait for ultimate judgment and that social action does not always end where theology begins. He readily admits that even while writing about racial demonstrations in the '60s, he did not approve of civil disobedience. The death of Martin Luther King changed his mind: "I saw in his career something I would find repeated in our history, now that I looked back at it without my blinders: change is initiated by the principled few, not the compromising many." Politicians tend to tell us what we want to hear; prophets tell us what is right. Says Wills, "They set impossibly high standards for the rest of us. They make us appreciate the purely political virtues of compromise, easily pleased vanity and mediocre expectation."

The author himself possesses no such virtues. He refuses to accept the free market of ideas where one opinion is worth as much as another. He is a demanding rationalist but understands, with Chesterton, that "reason is itself a matter of faith." His vanity insists on rigorous and adventurous exploration of paradox and contradiction, and his expectations are anything but mediocre. Neither prophet nor politician, Wills is a passionate and tireless grounds keeper of the arena where, as Augustine said, the wheat and the weeds grow together.

—R.Z. Sheppard

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<sup>2</sup> Health Systems Agencies were created as part of the National Health Planning and

Resources Development Act of 1974. Their mandate is to improve the health of the American people; continuity and quality of health services; restrain increases in the cost of providing health services and prevent unnecessary duplication of health services.

<sup>3</sup> In a recent survey by the American Health Planning Association, health planning agencies

across the country reported that in one two-year period they were instrumental in preventing over \$3 billion in capital investment for health care facilities. It's also important to note that there have been no indications that the quality of medical care has been impaired by their efforts.

<sup>4</sup> It's estimated that 100,000 short term hospital beds stand

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## Books

### Justice of The Peace

THE VICAR OF CHRIST

by *Walter F. Murphy*  
Macmillan; 632 pages; \$12.95

**T**he proposition is preposterous. Once again the Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church gather to elect a successor to the late Pope, killed in a plane crash. The conclave is deadlocked. An Italian prelate offers a radical proposal: elect a monk. Said monk is not your average Trappist. He is a former U.S. Marine colonel who won the Congressional Medal of Honor for leading his troops out of a deathtrap during the Korean War; a Pulitzer prizewinner for the book he wrote about the experience; a former presidential emissary to the Vatican; and, until his retirement to the monastery, Chief Justice of the United States. Why not Pope?

One of the classic tests of a writer is his ability to persuade an audience to suspend disbelief. Walter F. Murphy persuades. In his hands, the audacious thesis of this massive, complex first novel becomes fascinatingly logical and intellectually gripping. No better fiction on the world of the Vatican is now in print. Murphy, a Princeton law professor, is a compulsive storyteller, and in *The Vicar of Christ* he tells three tales that could have made books in themselves. Part I, reliving Declan Walsh's military adventures in Korea through the ripely phrased recollections of a Marine master gunnery sergeant, is a crisp, realistic novella. Part 2, narrated in the fastidious accents of an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, makes the arcane milieu of the Nine Old

Men for once intelligible. Part 3 is the center of the novel. Its narrator, Ugo Cardinal Galeotti, is an urbane Vatican veteran who enjoys fine wine and good company. He possesses a thoughtful spiritual vision as well, and it is through his eyes that the reader is led along on Declan Walsh's odyssey of the soul as Pope Francesco I.

Francesco is dogged by a destiny that oscillates between a quest for sanctity and demonstrations of *hubris*. He is crowned with the triple tiara that Popes John Paul I and John Paul II rejected, to let men know precisely who is running the church. When police in Spain murder priests under the approving eyes of Cabinet ministers, Francesco revives medieval precedent and threatens to place the entire country under interdict unless the culprits are punished. When a cabal of Cardinals plots to depose him, he dispatches them into exile with all the brutal efficiency of a Nixonian Saturday Night Massacre. "Declan, Declan," warns a purged friend on another occasion, "because you love no one, you think you love God."

**D**espite his autocratic methods, the Pope remains a theological liberal, a doubting Declan carrying the keys of the Kingdom. Sensitive to the anguish of Catholic couples, he adroitly bypasses the birth control ban of Pope Paul VI's *Humanae vitae*. He sets afoot a plan to bring divorced and remarried Catholics back to the sacraments from which they are barred. He admits that "every intelligent human has some doubts about an afterlife." But his messages can be demanding. Visiting the U.S., he becomes a Savonarola, exhorting Americans to repent and share their wealth with poorer countries. Finally, this onetime combat hero courts



Novelist and Princeton Professor Walter F. Murphy in St. Peter's Square at the Vatican

*A destiny that oscillates between a quest for sanctity and demonstrations of hubris.*

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assassination at the hands of the world's competing powers by telling Christians they must not bear arms in any modern war.

Neither Francesco nor the novel that contains him is not entirely flawless. The barracks vulgarity of Part 1 is as tedious as basic training, and the narrator's stilted diction in Part 2 is hardly more endearing. Women serve principally as walk-ons in *The Vicar of Christ*, including Declan's wife Kate, whose tragic death drives him to the monastery.

Ultimately, though, Murphy's work is a novel of ideas: political and religious, sacred and profane. The moral problems of war and peace, life and death, change and tradition, poverty and riches are questions that pursue every human. Murphy cannot fully answer them, nor can Pope Francesco I. But they are asked in a way that cannot be ignored, and they will haunt the reader long after this remarkable epic is finally laid down. —*Maya Mohs*

Resemblances between the *Vicar* and the author are not entirely coincidental. Born in Charleston, S.C., to a pharmacist father and an English schoolteacher mother, Walter Murphy, 49, grew up a cradle Catholic, studied at Notre Dame and earned a Marine Corps commission in time for the Communist invasion of South Korea. As a combat platoon leader, he won the Purple Heart and the Distinguished Service Cross, then came home to teach government at the U.S. Naval Academy. Mustered out in 1955, he took his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. Since 1958 he has taught at Princeton, and in 1968 was named McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence. He has written six books on law and politics, one of which figures as an inside joke in *The Vicar of Christ*: the Associate Justice narrating the second part cites a title from a certain "vulgar political scientist."

Murphy's researches in Rome in 1973-74 and last year gave him an eerie prescience. In the novel, Pope Francesco visits Mexico and enunciates the church's position on political involvement: "The church must be independent... We cannot have a material stake in the status quo or in revolution or in any of the other possible political events in between. We must be free to preach justice and to do justice." Those were the precise ideas, if not the very words, of Pope John Paul II on his visit to Mexico last January, well after *The Vicar of Christ* had gone to press.

Still, the religious attitudes of the main characters do not necessarily reflect Murphy's. The Marine gunnery sergeant, the Associate Justice and Declan Walsh himself all express some distress at the new Roman Catholic ritual, with its abandonment of the old music and the Latin. Murphy and his wife Terry (their two daughters now live in other parts of the country) regularly go to an English-language folk Mass.

## Books

Though he will be back living and teaching at Princeton next fall, Murphy plans more novels. One, a spy story, is almost finished. Another, on which he has already done considerable research, will be a fictional biography of St. Peter. Although Murphy has yet to hear criticism from Vatican sources, he has already received a severe appraisal from one reader. His mother, the English teacher, is uneasy with the language in the Korean War section. She allowed that she "understood the point," reports Murphy, "but she didn't approve."

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** *Birdy*, William Wharton  
Dubin's Lives, Bernard Malamud  
Fielder's Choice, edited by Jerome Holtzman • Good as Gold, Joseph Heller • SS-GB, Len Deighton • The Best American Short Stories 1978, edited by Ted Solotaroff • The Flounder, Günter Grass

**NONFICTION:** A Distant Mirror, Barbara W. Tuchman • Albert Camus, Herbert R. Lottman  
American Singers, Whitney Balliett  
In Memory Yet Green, Isaac Asimov  
The Habit of Being: Letters of Fanny O'Connor, edited by Sally Fitzgerald • The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt, Edmund Morris • To Build a Castle—My Life as a Dissenter, Vladimir Bukovsky

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

1. Good as Gold, Heller (3 last week)
2. The Matarese Circle, Ludlum (4)
3. War and Remembrance, Wouk (2)
4. Overload, Hailey (1)
5. Chesapeake, Michener (5)
6. SS-GB, Deighton (6)
7. The Stories of John Cheever, Cheever (7)
8. Evergreen, Plain (10)
9. Hanta Yo, Hill (8)
10. Dress Gray, Truscott

### NONFICTION

1. The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet, Tarnower & Baker (2)
2. Lauren Bacall by Myself, Bacall (1)
3. Sophia, Living and Loving, Hachner (4)
4. How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years, Ruff (3)
5. Mommie Dearest, Crawford (5)
6. Linda Goodman's Love Signs, Goodman (6)
7. A Distant Mirror, Tuchman (8)
8. You Don't Have to Be in Who's Who to Know What's What, Levenson
9. American Caesar, Manchester (7)
10. Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman, Wallace

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Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar"; 0.05 mg. nicotine; Soft Pack and Menthol: 1 mg. "tar"; 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette. FTC Report May '78.

## Living

### Succulent New Vegetables

*The standout this year: a pea with an edible pod*

A classic *New Yorker* cartoon pictured Mopet staring mutinously at Mom over a plate of murky compost. "It's broccoli, dear," says Mom. Says Mopet: "I say it's spinach, and I say the hell with it." There is good news for M. & M. The 1979 garden catalogues piling into mailboxes this spring offer a number of vegetables that look like spinach, taste better than spinach, but are not *Spinacia oleracea*. Some of them have been imported from the Orient, notably *shingiku* (*Chrysanthemum coronarium*) and *tampala hinn choy* (*Amaranthus tricolor*).

But the hell with spinach. For the venturesome home gardener, there is a new sweet pepper, Dutch Treat, whose pungent fruits progress from yellow to orange to red and are edible at all stages; it comes, naturally, from Holland. There is also an improved version of the so-called yard-long bean, a.k.a. Orient Express or asparagus bean because of its asparagus flavor. From China come bitter melon, *gow choy*, a garlicky chive, *bok choy* cabbage, and an aromatic celery, *heung kuh*—all valuable for good womanship. A Japanese melon called Honey Drip is described by its originators as "intolerably delicious." Vegetable growers, generally a conservative lot, have been slow to pick up on an unusual variety called vegetable spaghetti—it is a member of the squash family that, when opened up, yields oodles of non-noodles that can be prepared exactly like pasta.

There are several novelty strains of sweet corn, notably "candy stick," which is only one inch thick but a foot long and is ideal for freezing; other innovations include the first bush-type butternut squash and a tomato, Long-Keeper, that stays fresh up to four months after picking. The redoubtable Burpee catalogue alone offers such enticements as the spacemaster cucumber, a pumpkin whose seeds can be eaten raw, and Sugar Bush watermelon, which represent years of genetic selection not only for flavor but—more important to the home gardener—for compact growth in a limited space.

Not in decades, however, has a single new vegetable stirred such horticultural hyperbole as a rogue one-chance-in-a-million mutant developed over years by the Gallatin Valley Seed Co. of Twin Falls, Idaho. It is called the Sugar Snap pea. Somewhat like a snow pea, but with plump, juicy kernels and melt-in-the-mouth pods, it also has some of the characteristics of a snap green bean and should be eaten pod and all. The Burpee cata-



Gallatin's award-winning Sugar Snap

logue, which gives it cover-sweetie treatment, calls it "truly fantastic." The authoritative magazine of the venerable Massachusetts Horticultural Society joins the seed industry in hailing it as "the best new vegetable in over 100 years of plant breeding."

Some Sugar Snap enthusiasts go so far as to predict that the new, wholly edible pea may surpass the tomato as the American home gardeners' top crop. The Michelin of munchables, All-America Selections, based in Los Altos, Calif., has not just given the Sugar Snap a rare gold medal and pronounced it "the most successful new strain it has savored in its 46 years; it has also issued a recipe leaflet (50¢). Suggested treatments range from creamed Sugar Snap soup to Sugar Snap tempura. Actually, says the vegetable's inventor, Gallatin's lanky Calvin Lamborn, 45, "it's better raw than cooked."



Plant Scientist Calvin Lamborn

*Best little rogue in a century.*

### Diet of the Hour

*Taking it off the Scarsdale way*

In fashionable restaurants such as Manhattan's "21" Club and Washington's Duke Zeibert's, an inordinate number of customers appear to be feasting—or fasting, as the case may be—on the same simply prepared dish. Fish if it happens to be Monday night, beef on Tuesday, lamb if Wednesday. Peculiar? Not to these diet devotees. They are merely following the latest popular weight-loss regimen: the Scarsdale Diet.

Originally devised 19 years ago for his patients, the diet is the brainchild of Dr. Herman Tarnower, 69, a Scarsdale, N.Y. cardiologist and internist. Mimeo-graphed copies of his diet gradually made the rounds of local country clubs, were lent by enthusiasts to friends in other parts of the country and were eventually taped on refrigerators from New York to California. Not surprisingly, the good doctor was prevailed upon to write a book, padding his original diet with 244 pages of familiar advice and additional menus. *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet* (Rawson, Wade, \$7.95), whose cover boasts, "LOSE UP TO 20 POUNDS IN 14 DAYS AND KEEP THEM OFF," has sold some 270,000 copies since it was published last January.

"My diet is simple and time has proved it safe," explains Tarnower, "People are willing to put up with the discipline and deprivation necessary because they know it works." The discipline is strict indeed. No alcohol, no snacks (except raw carrots and celery), no sugar, no oils. The dieter must follow, for two weeks at a time, a day-by-day menu that allows no substitutions. At least by the dieter. Tarnower himself changed the menus somewhat when he wrote his book. For example, the dinner that the original followers most dreaded (cottage cheese, eggs and cooked cabbage) has been changed to roast chicken, spinach, green peppers and string beans.

Tarnower's formula is merely the latest variation on the familiar high protein-low carbohydrate regimen. Although food quantities are not specified, the doctor believes that most Scarsdale dieters average 1,000 or fewer calories a day. Many naturally complain of lassitude and find that their weight loss is only temporary. But others, like Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill, who lost 40 lbs. on two two-week stints, are more than satisfied. The diet, he says, is "a thing of beauty." It is also, unquestionably, the diet of the hour. Some socialites with no weight problems at all are following it simply because it is chic. "Everyone's been on it," declares a Chicago hostess, Donna ("Sugar") Rautbord. "I believe its appeal is its popularity."



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